URBAN MIGRATION AND RURAL IDENTITY,

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF A KWAWU COMMUNITY,

OBO, GHANA

by

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of
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We accept this dissertation as conforming to the
required standard

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PREFACE

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September 1977

FRONTISPIECE

Kyinkyin, an adinkra symbol stamped on funeral cloths. From kyini = to rove about, to roam, circulate, or wander, related to nkyinkyimii = windings, and to okrakyinkyini transmigration of the soul. The symbol has an added meaning of changing one's identity.

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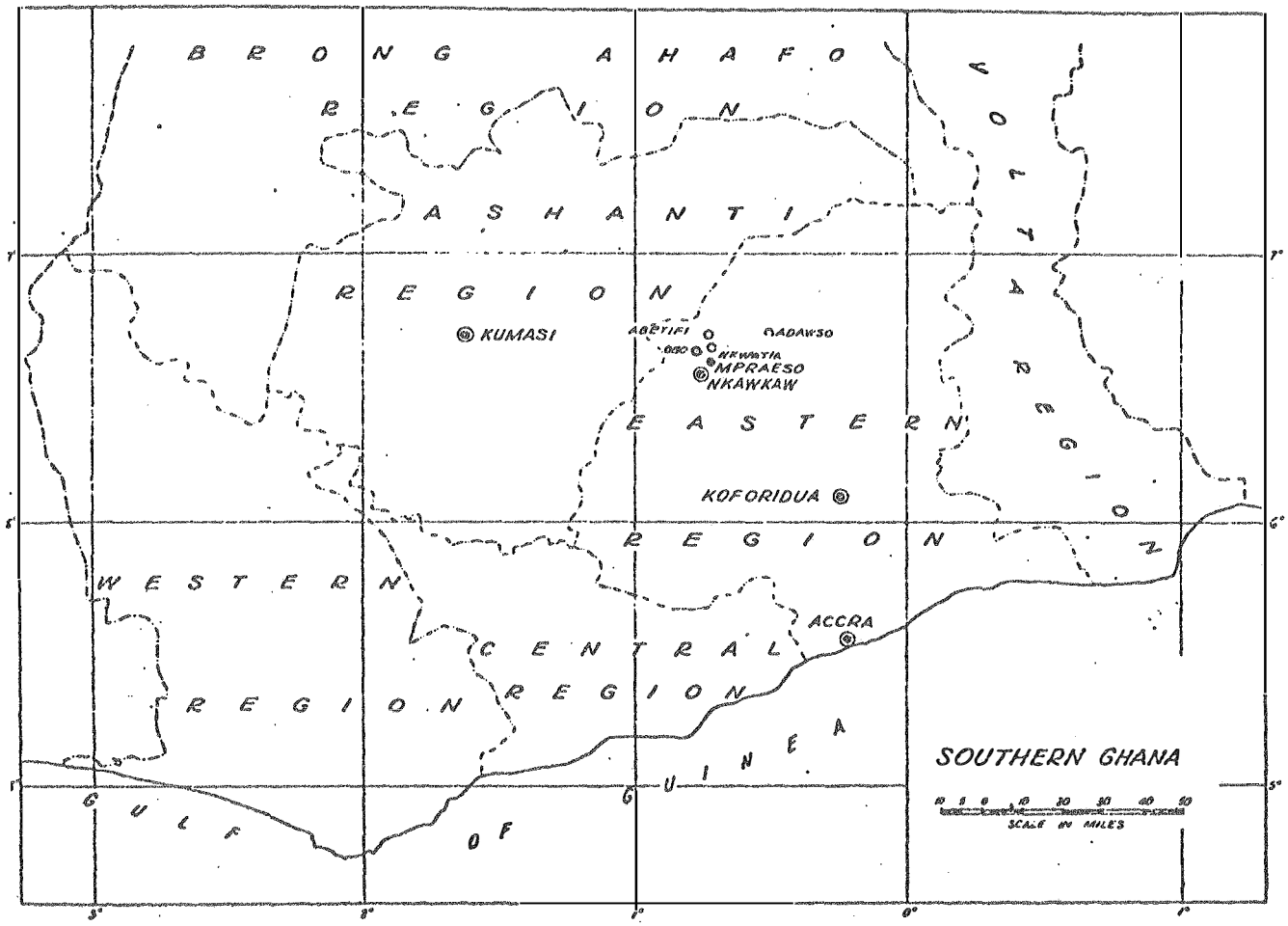
BRONG AHAFO
REGION
ASHANTI
REGION
KUMASI
ABETIFI
ADAWSO
NKWATIA
MPRAESO
NKAWKAW
EASTERN
REGION
KOFORIDUA
VOLTA
REGION
WESTERN
REGION
CENTRAL
REGION
ACCRA
GULF OF GUINEA
SOUTHERN GHANA
SCALE IN MILES

INTRODUCTION

ETHNOMIGRATION

Migration, in its cultural context, is the theme of this study. It was conceived as an extension of demographic studies, beginning with a hometown, where rural-urban migration decisions are made. The unit of analysis is a community, a microcosm of culture, a group of people (identifying with a hometown) whose membership has changed over time, and whose physical locations, at various times of their lives, are different. Culture is a superorganic complex, an aggregate of learned behaviour, analytically divided into numerous dimensions: technology, economy, polity, institutions, ideology, cosmology, and ritual. This thesis looks at a community dispersed by migration, from each dimension in turn. After describing its location in time and space, it looks at its technology which allows it to survive in its physical environment, then its economy which allocates its resources, then the social and political institutions which operate to maintain it. The text ends with the beliefs and rituals that pull dispersed migrants back to the hometown and maintain their hometown identity whether they temporarily reside in a city or village. What keeps them members of the hometown-based but dispersed community is the idea of returning, of coming full circle, back to the point of origin: i.e., cyclical. A short anecdote, intended to portray the cyclical view of the universe, followed by some observations about beliefs in circular cosmology, will introduce the community. The analysis of cyclical migration, and the roles the various cultural dimensions play, will then constitute the text of this thesis.

Palm Wine Conversation

The abrante (young man) was sitting on a bench when the boy came to him with a pot of palm wine and an empty calabash. As he had seen men do for as long as he could remember, the abrante held his calabash in front of him with his right hand about the level of his knees. He moved the empty calabash, parallel to the ground, in an anti-clockwise circular motion.

The boy, holding the pot in both hands, responded by moving the pot in a similar circle, also in an anti-clockwise movement. The young man then touched the ground with the bottom of the calabash. The boy responded with the equivalent movement. The young man then touched the ground again, this time half a metre to his right. The boy moved the pot to his right, about half a metre to the left of the abrante. The abrante lifted his calabash up and the boy began filling it. When the palm wine neared the top, the young man sharply raised the calabash to touch the lip of the pot, saying "Aso," for the boy to stop pouring. Then, with the calabash full, the young man poured a few drops of the white wine on the ground, saying "Agya gyie," (Father, receive), drank the wine to near the bottom of the calabash without taking it from his lips, then poured the dregs out in front of him. He passed the empty calabash on to the person to his right, for the boy to serve. The palm wine was cool and sweet, making him more forgiving about all the sorrows in life he had to face.

"Do you know why we do that before we are served?" an opanyin (old man) asked the abrante.

Wishing to show he knew something, the abrante respectfully replied, "Oh yes, father, that is how we signal to the boy to stir up the wine. When the pot sits for long the milky part sinks to the bottom and the clear liquid rises, but when palm wine is mixed it tastes sweeter."

"Ah, well," the opanyin replied, "that is a good practical reason, but do you know the meaning of it?"

Eager now to hear the old man, the abrante asked him to explain.

"You are one of the mmarante, those who don't hear (nte), the laws or customs (mmara), thus you are called young man. Learn a little today and a little tomorrow, for, as the elders say, drop by drop the chicken drinks water.

"Kofi, if anyone tells you that such and such a land is his, know that we own no earth, and nothing on earth, for we are all temporary visitors. We are not owners, but caretakers for Onyankopon, the supreme sky god. We are all kwantumfo or travellers. If anyone says to you that he is a true Kwawu whereas someone else is only a stranger, know that he lies or is ignorant, for we are all strangers. All Kwawu, or their ancestors, came from other places. We are all travellers.

"Like the calabash that is empty, like the pot that is full, rich or poor, we all travel in our circle. Just as we greet in the palace, we move, starting from the right, but in time we travel full circle, and eventually, like the pot and the calabash, we return to the earth. If anyone says he owns plenty of land, know that the only land that a person really owns is that space in which it takes to be buried. No, rather he belongs to the land, Asaase Yaa.

"Where the pot and the calabash meet again on the earth, that is not where they stay. They part. You move them to the right. Yes, wherever we go, round and round, back we come, eventually to be put in the ground."

"Opanyin, thank you. But I do know why we then do the rest. We pour the wine first on the ground for the ancestors."

"Yes, the elders who have travelled through life eventually reach the ground, their own little space. But as the calabash and the pot move

again, the ancestors can return to where we are and share our drink with us. When they were alive, we children would respectfully let them eat or drink first. Now, before we eat the first yams of the year, or before we drink any wine, we remember our elders, letting them have their rightful share before we take ours. We in our turn expect to be served by our own children, first in life, then after Death invites us on a further journey.

"Remember too, that in life as in travel, the elders say, 'Okoo batatuo na wanko batadie,' travel for profit (tu bata), not to 'chop' (di = eat, spoil) travel. Grow rich and return to bring honour to our people.

"The hunters know that if you set the teeth of a trap apart, the jaws will spring back; life is like that. When you travel, you will come back. Let us hope that the trap holds a valuable prize."

The pot and the calabash moved around the circle of people. Discussions moved on too, to new topics. But the conversation was not completely forgotten. A lesson had been taught, and the abrante knew he had learned something.[1]

As the elder said, everything moves around in its circle. This study is about cyclical movements, so we begin with an analysis of the cyclical nature of the Akan universe, a cosmological structure of Obo migrants.

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1. This anecdote is the condensation and synthesis of a number of conversations around palm wine pots, with the young man usually being myself or other men of the town, and the elder usually the Kuruntehene of Obo, Nana Adofo Akuamoa II.

The Cyclical Nature of the Akan Universe

Migration, as seen by the kwawu, is the pattern of life. It is the pattern of death. They see all human existence as a form of travel. Life is a trip, but it is not necessarily a one-way journey.

Birth, for example, is the meeting of spirit with flesh. The mogya or blood of the mother gives the individual his nton or abusua, his lineage, clan, inheritance, and membership in a structured group. The hoaba or semen of the father gives the individual his ntoro or sunsum, his spirit, shadow, bravery, and morality. These have been on earth before, sometimes together; and the individual is a reincarnation of someone who has died. Usually the individual gets his nton from one place and his ntoro from another. In either case there is a sense of a return journey.

At birth God will kra a person, saying, "goodbye." Kra implies a goodbye message to take to the place where the migrant goes. When God says goodbye he gives the individual his nkrabea, or fate, which implies the notion of predestination, including the time and occasion of death. The Twi word nkrabea (n = plural, kra + bea = something) is as difficult to translate into English as is the Indian word karma. A person is named according to the day of the week on which he is born, and refers to that day as his kra day. In sum, the threefold individual is thought to have an affinity with all other people who have his (1) nton, with all other people who have his (2) ntoro, and with (3) all people born on the same day of the week. Birth is thought of as one of the transfer points on a cyclical journey. This will be described in chaper six.

The symbolism of death, too, is the symbolism of migration. Perhaps death, in its most bare reality, is too final. The Kwawu, like other ancestor believers, soften the harshness of death with euphemism. When a respected father, elder, or chief dies, the event is usually referred to in terms of migration. It is said, "He is gone," "He has

gone to some place," or most significantly, "He has gone to the village." The ideas of "going" or of "going to the village" imply that the person has not stopped existing, but has rather removed himself and, what must be emphasized here, is capable of returning.

The way Twi speakers see death and migration might be understood by a quote from an English translation of an essay first written in Twi and then broadcast on Ghana Radio:

> As soon as the lorry had started all one could hear was shouts of, "Don't be long! Don't be long!"... And now it was difficult to stand. Sorrow had descended on everyone. Several people had tears welling up in their eyes. It is true they said, if you don't know what death feels like, you had better liken it to sleep, but travelling is more like death than anything else which man can compare it to. A traveller is just like a dead person. As he is going, perhaps he is on his last journey. Perhaps he will not return to find those he is leaving behind, or perhaps he himself may never return again. So most of the people who had gathered there began to shed tears. As for the children, they wailed aloud and it was some trouble stopping them.
>
> (Opoku 1958,
> quoted by Hill 1963: 32)

Death is very important in societies such as those in West Africa that are characterized by gerontocracy (see chapter five) and ancestor beliefs. It is not surprising then that migration and funerals are very closely related. Chapter six will indicate the importance of funerals to migration.

Sleep, too, is migration. Not only is it used as an euphemism to refer to death, but it is also an activity or time when an individual's kra leaves the body to travel. Remember that the word kra is derived from the salutation used for leave-taking. The spirit of the sleeping person may then go to visit Asamando, land of the dead, or to some other place on the earth. Some, though not all, dreams may be thought of as spiritual visits from gods, gnomes, or departed spirits. People are careful, on waking a friend, to give enough time for the sleeper's spirit to return to the sleeping body. People prefer calling to a sleeping

person rather than shaking him. Calling him is like a prayer or libation to a god or spirit of an ancestor, in that the sleeping body acts as a medium through which the message to the spirit is sent. If the sleeping body is rudely shaken or moved, it may lose some of its vitality. If the whole or part of the departed spirit, or the personality, could not return soon enough, madness or death may result. Thus sleep is explained in terms of spatial mobility.

Sickness also is seen as a form of migration. When a person is ill it is said that his kra or perhaps some of his kra has travelled. When the patient recovers it is said that his kra has returned. This kra has a spiritual nature and is respected by its individual who may even make a sacrifice of alcohol or eggs to it. In Kwawu, spiritual things such as the gods residing in rivers, rocks, caves, or other natural objects are fed chicken eggs. Eggs are thought of as fit food for such beings, perhaps because of their significance with regards to beliefs about fertility, birth, and growth; for young women are given eggs by their parents on the occasion of their first menses. So it is that someone who was ill and has recovered is then brought eggs by his friends to feed his returning kra and welcome it back.

These symbols of migration also symbolize changes in identity associated with migration. A stool of an important dead chief, preserved with soot and eggs through the generations, is said to be the place or object where the spirit of that chief may be likely to return (like the sleeping body mentioned above), especially when called and offered food and drink. Death is a transformation as well as a translocation of a person. The dead chief is not said to be exactly the same as when he was alive. Things change their form to meet the new situation or environment. When a townsman goes to his village or farm, he puts on his old clothes. When he travels to his hometown he puts on a new or clean

cloth. When he attends a funeral he puts on mourning cloth, coloured red or orange (koko), or black (tumtum). When he attends a happy celebration he puts on brighter colours which he refers to as "white" (fitaa). Thus when a person "travels" while sick or sleeping, his form changes from what it is when he is awake. When a child goes daily from home to school he changes his name from that which is used at home, to his school name. When a migrant goes to a city he adopts new life habits, a new vocabulary, and perhaps even a new language. In both cases the new form is dropped and the old form picked up again on return.

All these things are seen to have an affinity with and a similarity to migration. The little ritual of pouring and drinking palm wine, the process of birth, the life of a person, conditions of sleep and illness, the experience of death, belief in ancestors and the afterworld, the notion of reincarnation, the oral history of the people, the nature of material things and spiritual entities, all have an element in common. That element is the cosmological significance of geographical or spatial mobility. They may help us to understand the present-day movement of individuals to their villages, to the towns or to the cities, to seek work and to visit friends and relatives.

Certain elements can be isolated here. The universe is characterized by movement. Not only is movement thought to be in the natural order of things, but remaining too long in one place is not thought to be productive. An Akan proverb states, "Anoma kye dua so a, ogye bo, When a bird remains (too) long on a tree it receives a stone (has a stone thrown at it)." It is not wise for someone to tarry too long in one place. If you stay on the same piece of farm the soil will soon be depleted. If you do not seek new markets to trade, the changes will leave you behind.

An important element of that movement is an approximation of rhythm or repetition. This circular movement is not a mechanistic duplication of past events, but a more fluid, organic sense of returning. Something which frequented a place on one or more occasion but which has left, has the capability and high probability of returning under certain conditions. These may not be sufficient to explain how the social forms described below are generated, but do help us to understand the interconnections between a farago of diverse information related to migration.

There is no single word in Kwawu that is precisely translated as "migration." The words usually used may better be thought of as journey, to kwan (to = a general verb meaning do, produce, make or engage, kwan = path, route, road). A traveller is called a kwantofo. As in English, trade (having the same root as tread, and historically related to peripatetic tradesmen, journeymen, and itinerant artisans) is closely related to migration in the Twi language. To bata means to travel for profit, by either labour or enterprise. The contrasting concept, di bata, implies travel to lose resources, the verb di implying waste, spoil, and consume. Migrant traders and artisans are called batatofo. The concepts of journey and migrant trader both imply temporary movement; migrants are expected to return home.

Cyclical

The word "cyclical" used in this study should be understood to imply coming full circle, back to a starting point, rather than necessarily denoting repetition or seasonal cycles. Where repetition occurs, it will be noted.

These ideas about the circular nature of the universe are part of an ideological and cosmological architecture which will be sketched in chapter six. These beliefs are related to (if not results of) institutional structures of social interaction, which in turn are related to modes of production and distribution, which are based on technology or

society's relationships with its physical environment (tools). In order to understand these beliefs - even as they affect other dimensions of culture - it is necessary to examine, in historical perspective, the ecology, technology, economy, and social and political institutions of the community sharing those beliefs. Since cyclical migration is an important element in these beliefs, and in all the other cultural dimensions mentioned, chapter one will begin with an examination of migration studies, and an outline of the objectives and methodology of this study.

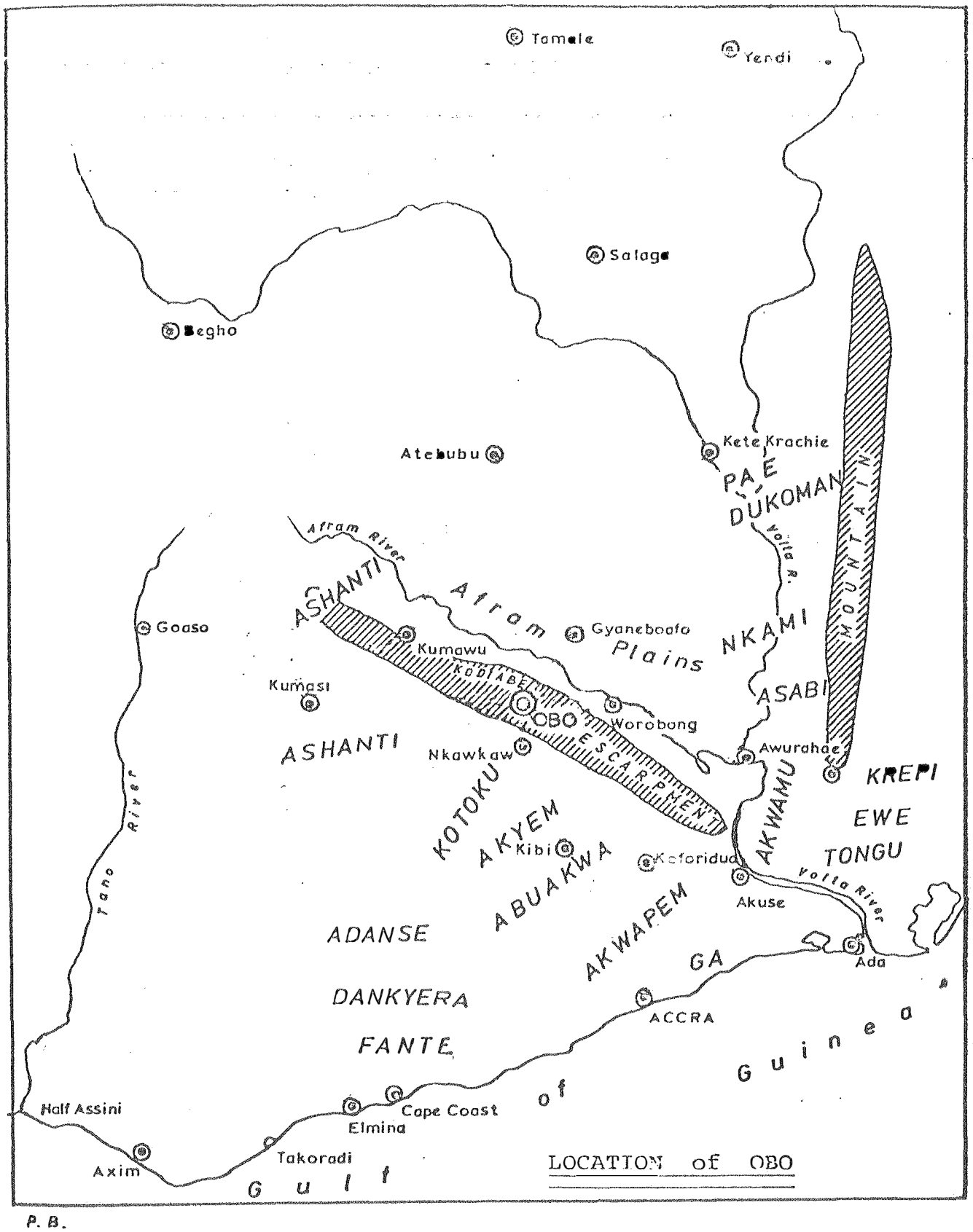
2. The reader is requested to substitute the word "circular" for the word "cyclical" where it modifies the word migration. The term "cyclical," which was used to modify migration in this dissertation, was intended to stress the close association between "life cycle," "domestic cycle," and the migration cycle. Because of the implication of coming full circle, my external examiner, Prof. A. Akiwowo, suggested the phrase "circular migration" to be used rather than "cyclical migration." I am grateful to Prof. Akiwowo for pointing this out.

CHAPTER ONE

CIRCULAR MIGRATION AND THE DISPERSED COMMUNITY

The circular nature of the Akan universe (noted in the introduction) is reflected in and based on the social organization and the pattern of migration of the community chosen for this study. Originally the problem to be examined here was the migration of people from a rural area to an urban area, and the effects of that migration on social organization. Because rural-urban migration (or the decision to migrate) appears to originate in rural areas, the starting point for this investigation was in a rural area. It was a small town, Obo, known to send migrants to the capital city of Ghana, Accra. The method of research, as described below, was based on participant observation followed by archival research and surveys designed after initial observations were made. (The resultant data then required a modification of the original conception of the study.) in what sense? By what method?

This chapter begins by describing the objectives of the study as they developed over the course of research. The relevant literature is then reviewed: migration as an interdisciplinary scholarly topic, theories of migration, return migration observed in other studies, and published information about the community selected for this study. As a scientific inquiry, this study generated several hypotheses. The chapter ends with a description of the methods used to test those hypotheses and to investigate the social organization of the community. First we turn to the objectives of the study.



LOCATION of OBO

P. B.

Objectives

Two well documented and analysed phases of migration: (a) across the Atlantic from Europe to the plains and valleys of North America, and (b) from farms to growing metropolitan centres, once dominated the literature in this field. Other studies included overseas and widespread indentured colonial labour. Can the study of migration, developed for use in one culture, be applied to study of migration in other cultures? An essential feature of much documented migration is its one-way nature. Migrants were seen to leave society A, the donor community, and to proceed to society B, the host community. Although migrants often retained sentimental attachments to their area of origin, the movement was essentially unidirectional, and sociologists rightly concerned themselves with decision-taking by potential migrants, processes of acculturation and adaptation, and effects on the economic and social organization of both donor and host communities. Are these patterns and problems universal? Is rural-urban or international migration, in developing countries, primarily one-way? Do the same sociological problems and the same social structures pertain? Is it possible that there is another as yet undelineated conceptual model of social organization which incorporates the cyclical movement of people? Can regularities in the migration patterns of the actors be logically associated with institutional forms in something which could be called a community or system of patterned cultural behaviour? These are some questions this study raises and attempts to answer.

It is not enough to compute rates of population movements, and to correlate migration rates with other selected variables, useful as that approach may be for other purposes. It is hoped that this present study will add to the existing knowledge of the nature of social organization, and of structures and processes related to migration. If rural-urban

migration decisions are made in the rural areas, then a study of them should begin where those decisions are made. Thus a hometown in a rural area, observed to be the place of origin for a number of urban migrants, could be selected for the focus of study. This was the first major objective, and the hometown thus chosen was Obo.

Social anthropologists have attempted to apply certain skills, used in observing and analysing simpler societies having less sophisticated technology, to the observation and analysis of more complex societies (Banton 1966). The social ramifications of a process consisting of migrants continuously moving between a rural area and a highly differentiated commercial urban centre could hardly be called less than complex. The tools used by social scientists who are more familiar with simpler societies have been hard pressed to deal with the present kind of social situation. Methods used to examine simple societies have to be modified to deal with complex social phenomena. The techniques employed in this study, as in most ethnographic pursuits, had to be numerous and varied.

The objectives and methods employed in this study were thus not precise or easily defined, but where science is not constrained by strict testing of predetermined hypotheses there is a high probability of discovering hitherto unknown forms or dynamics, by manifestation of serendipity. A second important objective then was for ethnographic and historical approaches (usually assumed to be descriptive rather than analytical) to be used in this study to analyse rural urban migration.

Four salient facts emerged from a preliminary observation. First, there was overwhelming evidence of a social system or community based on identification[1] with the hometown (Obo), consisting mainly of members

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1. A person identifies with Obo if he admits he is an Oboni (Obo person). The total community of Obo persons, both those resident in Obo and those usually resident elsewhere, consists of all Obofo (Obo persons). The category can be operationalized by the question, "Wo ye

not resident in Obo. The constitution of this dispersed community overlaps other situations, groups, and communities in rural and urban locations. Second, the mechanism which holds together the resultant interpenetrating community, dispersed as it is over a wide geographic area, is an aggregate of individuals' cyclical or return migration. Although the study originally was conceived as an examination of rural-urban migration (specifically from a single rural location, Obo, to a single urban location, Accra), it became obvious that the whole community included migrants temporarily living in a wide range of urban and rural locations. Rural-urban migration thus necessarily had to be seen within a wider pattern of migration. Since the total community transcends rural and urban areas, the distinction between the two becomes less important than the totality. Third, the community is held together by a network of ties that migrants maintain, not only with residents in the hometown, but also with other migrants located in the same or other host locations. The most important ties appear to be those of kinship, although friendships, contracts, and common membership in associations also obtain. Fourth, it became apparent that all or most of the members of the community pass through various similar migrant stages, living in the hometown or various host communities at different times, yet maintaining identity with the hometown. It thus became more apparent, after observing these four facts, that the social organization of the total community depends upon, and can be more fully understood in terms of the life cycles of the individuals who constitute that community. The third objective, then, was to explain the functions of hometown identity and life cycles.

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aheni?" (You are (a) where? - person?) of residents or migrants who will answer "Oboni" if they identify with Obo.

CLARIFICATION OF KEY TERMS

Hometown, donor community

Location or site of migrant-sending group or society: In this study, Obo.

Host location

Location or site of migrant-receiving group or society: Satellite villages, other rural areas, town, Accra, overseas, etc.

Obo community

Total dispersed, interpenetrating, migrant community: Consisting of all Obo migrants plus Obo hometown residents who call Obo their hometown. All people who identify with Obo.

Obo migrant

Anyone identifying with Obo who is currently residing elsewhere.

Obo resident

Anyone identifying with Obo who is currently residing in Obo.

Visitor

Anyone identifying with Obo who currently resides elsewhere, but who pays a visit to Obo.

Stranger

Migrant identifying with another location, and recognised as such by residents of that location where he is currently residing, e.g. Obo.

The general objective of this study, therefore, was to observe and analyse a wide range of behaviour in order to abstract and delineate the operation of a system. The system can be thought of as the interrelated processes that maintain a community, the boundaries of which are not merely a single geographic location, but a community which is limited to a population consisting of members who identify with a specific geographic location. One of the major elements of that social system is a pattern of migration from and back to a hometown, and a resulting interpenetrating community of members dispersed over a wide geographic area.

Before formulating these objectives into hypotheses and considering the techniques necessary to test them, we turn to some of the published literature to see how this study is positioned among other theoretical and empirical studies of migration.

The Literature: (a) Definitions

The published material on migration is immense,[2] and is found in many scholarly disciplines:

> migratory behaviour...within the past hundred years...has been studied by political scientists and by psychiatrists and psychologists. Each has focussed on a different aspect of migratory behaviour and utilized a somewhat different class of data.
>
> (Richardson 1967:3)

Rates of population movements, and corresponding changes in resident population sizes, are some of the major concerns of demographers. Because migration involves a variation in physical space, geographers too have examined it. Variations in costs and income, occupational mobility, and related decision-taking patterns that affect migration rates draw the

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2. A recent bibliographic essay by Gunnilla Bjeren (1971) summarizes the material on African rural-urban migration. Mangalam (1968) has produced an annotated bibliography on migration in general. Panofsky (1963) wrote a bibliographic essay on labour migration in Africa. See Brigg (1971) for a survey of case studies in migration to urban areas. See also Gutkind (1973) for references on the social consequences of urbanization in Africa.

interest of the economists. Sociologists have examined numerous factors related to migration, such as the relationships between social and spatial mobility, problems of acculturation, and plural societies. Psychologists have examined problems of personal adjustment related to going into a new community, and varying rates of delinquency between migrants and residents. Anthropologists have examined the consequences of culture contact, diffusion, problems faced by tribal or rural people adjusting to western urban life, and the broad topic of modernization. It would be worthwhile to examine a few such studies to see where this study of Obo fits into the literature, although it would be far beyond the scope of the present endeavour to attempt even an outline review of the literature.

First, to examine what is meant by the term migration, we can ask how it has been previously defined. A recent study of the subject defines migration as:

> ...a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed on the distance of the move or upon the voluntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between external or internal migration. Thus, a move across the hall from one apartment to another is counted as just as much an act of migration as a move from Bombay, India, to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, though, of course, the initiation and consequences of such moves are vastly different. However not all kinds of spatial mobility are included in this definition. Excluded, for example, are the continual movements of nomads and migratory workers, for whom there is no long-term residence, and temporary moves like those to the mountains for the summer.
>
> (Lee 1969:285)

This definition poses a few problems when looking at various types of cyclical migration. Although the moves of Obo people to the villages, towns, and Accra, for the duration of their working life can be included, their visits back to the hometown for a few days or a month could not be included unless they are for the last time at retirement, or if they develop into long-term residences as circumstances change from when the visits were initiated.

Eisenstadt looks at migration as, "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one," (1954:1). His definition unfortunately does not consider the notion of that individual or group making plans for a physical transition back again to the former, or donor, society. Nor does it consider the possibility of making a physical transition from one society to another while maintaining social membership or participation in both. His definition, fortunately however, does not exclude those possibilities.

Mangalam wrote that, "Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional systems of the migrant," (1968:5). An important point made in this study is that Obo migrants constitute something more than a collectivity; i.e., because of the ties they maintain with hometown residents and other migrants, they constitute a community.

Mangalam's definition introduces the concept "relatively permanent," perhaps to distinguish migration from holiday trips to the seashore, from sailors occupations, or from daily movements between sitting room to kitchen or to work. This complicates the problem of finding a definition of migration applicable to this study. The difficulty consists of determining how permanent "relatively permanent" must be. In Africa and elsewhere, people, who certainly could be called migrants, do move spatially, but the permanence of their moves may be in question. If a person is socialized into a society whose members frequently migrate between a defined set of locations, with various individuals at different places at any one point in time, then the migration of that person between any

of those locations might not necessitate changes in the structure or constitution of the interactional network of that person. His total environment begins with the spatial variety of a set of locations, say village, town, and city, and his moving about may be sociologically no different than commuting to work.

Mangalam's definition presupposes a permanent or one-way type rather than return or cyclical type of migration. It is also difficult to agree with Lee (op. cit.) that migratory workers are not migrants merely because they migrate frequently. The temporary nature of rural-urban migration in Africa, and the importance of labour migrants in the social organization of cities filled with rural-born people who view their urban venue as temporary, require one to question the deletion of certain population movements merely because there is a temporary nature or predictable regularity to those movements and their returns. Perhaps Weinberg's definition, used in his study of migration in Israel, is more flexible:

> Human migration is the changing of a place of abode permanently or, when temporarily, for an appreciable duration, as in the case of seasonal workers. It is used symbolically in the transition from one surrounding to another in the course of human life.
>
> (Weinberg 1961)

When people maintain numerous "homes" simultaneously in city, town, and village, then deciding who is a migrant would depend on frequency of movement, which is a function of age, income, status, kin ties, political office, distance, and similar elements of a total cultural system that constitutes a dispersed community. In this study, Obo people who move between home and host locations, no matter how frequently, will be called migrants.

The use of the word community rather than collectivity in this study is suggested by one of two points of view expressed by Scott Greer:

> The word community is an ambiguous one, with many theoretical meanings and varying empirical referents. Two core meanings, however, stand out in the theoretical and empirical uses of the term. In one, community connotes certain modes of relationship, in which the individual shares values, is understood and identifies with the aggregate. In the other meaning community indicates a spatially defined social unit having functional significance, reflecting the interdependence of individuals and groups.
>
> (Greer 1958:233)

The concept "community," usually applied to a group of people located in a single place, has elsewhere been used to refer to people dispersed over a wide geographical area, interspersed with other communities:

> From a sociological point of view communities with a high turnover of population may more easily be defined in terms of an exploded concept - e.g. to follow Lindeman (1930:103) all those <u>belonging to a particular place</u> rather than those living within its boundaries.
>
> (Jackson 1969:5-6, my emphasis)

The definition might not easily apply to a group of nomads such as a gypsy band, with no geographical roots, but it definitely could be used for the interpenetrating community of Obo migrants and residents. The total or extended Obo community consists of those identifying with Obo, not merely those living in Obo at any one time.

In his discussion of movement in Ghana, Fortes (1971) distinguishes between "mobility" which he restricts to movement within boundaries, and "migration" in which persons cross borders. The distinction is analytically valid for certain purposes, but affords a problem in the approach used here. Since Obo migrants circulate within what I describe as a single interpenetrating or extended community, located within villages and towns in Ghana and outside, the boundaries of that community have not been crossed. Some Obo migrants to Togo or U.K. may have crossed national borders but remain within the social boundaries of the total Obo community.

A distinction could be made between Obo migrants who go to villages in Obo land within the Kwawu district, and Obo migrants who cross the

district boundaries to go to villages, towns, and cities elsewhere. But this study shows that the meaningful distinction is between those in the hometown and those away, no matter how many social, geographical, or political boundaries they cross, as long as they remain Obo people. That difference is primarily one of the stage in life courses. The "home-away" distinction is more important than the distinctions between migrants to rural or to urban host areas, or those within or outside district, regional, or national boundaries.

The dispersal system of the Obo community is one of both mobility and migration. The difference depends on the analytic purposes of the observer. In this study the term migration will be retained, though the movement that is discussed is confined to the extended Obo community irrespective of other boundaries.

The Literature: (b) Theories

From the time that social scientists first looked at migration they have asked, in one way or another, "Why do people migrate?" Put another way, causal questions such as these are usually examined in terms of decisions to migrate and answered with reference to rates of migration. It is not a new question, and the answers tend to have a substantial economic element. In the last century that mode of inquiry was expressed by a statistician:

> Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surrounding, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation): all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in material respects.
>
> (Ravenstein 1889,
> quoted by Gugler 1969:134)

Observers shortly came up with theories related to forces which push migrants from the donor community and those which pull them to the host community. Early this century, Haddon, in trying to explain distributions

of language and culture through time and space suggested that people migrate reluctantly. On the push side of causes may be found forces of expulsion such as shortages of food or overpopulation, but these are offset because people are psychologically reluctant to leave their traditional homes (Haddon 1912).

Push-pull theory has not been limited to studies in the western world but has also been applied to studies in Africa and Asia. Bose (1973) found that migrants from rural India are not pushed to the cities by poverty, but are rather highly motivated individuals attracted to urban opportunities. Balandier (1955) found that causes of push from rural African areas to the cities were similar to traditional reasons for expulsion: murder, adultery, and witchcraft. Banton (1957) suggested that modern pulls from the cities, money, and freedom, account for rural-urban migration. Other African studies of migration include those of the Ardeners (1960) for the Cameroons, Watson (1958) for Zambia, Gulliver (1955) for Tanzania, Comhaire (1968) for Ethiopia, Cohen (1969) for the Hausa in Nigeria, Middleton (1969) for the Lugbara, Elkan (1959), Hutton (1966), Powesland (1954), and Richards (1954) for Uganda, Flegg and Lutz (1959) for Moçambique, Hart (1969) for Frafra in Ghana, Hill (1963) for Ghana, Imoagene (1967), and Prothero (1957) for Nigeria, Mayer (1962) for South Africa, Schwab (1962,5) for Yoruba in Nigeria, Skinner (1965) and Rouch (1954) for Upper Volta migrants to Ghana, Van Velson (1960) for the Tonga in Malawi, and Villien-Rossi (1966) for Brazzaville.

Many variations of the push-pull approach have been offered, such as my attempts, using Kwawu data, to develop a four-part model, encompassing both costs and benefits of both staying and leaving (Bartle 1971, 1973). The economists and demographers, now with sophisticated models

and computer-assisted techniques, dominate the field of prediction of migration rates.

The push-pull theory has, however, come under criticism. For example, in a book edited by Jakobson and Prakesh (1973), five essays, relying on data from developing countries mainly in Asia, challenge push-pull theories by asking about "push-back" forces that cause urban migrants to return to their rural homes. Two empirical studies from India (Eames 1954, Crane 1955) have also pointed out that rural-urban migration is not a one-way process. There have also been theoretical criticisms of the push-pull approach:

> The remarkably static theoretical development in the study of migration demands some adequate explanation in view of the dynamic quality of migration itself and the extraordinary importance which movements of population assume as both a catalyst and ingredient of social change. In spite of the expression of a somewhat general unease with the too narrowly materialist bias of the "push-pull" model there has been little serious attempt to grapple with some of the underlying assumptions and myths regarding the human condition and the decision-making process which students of population movement have often quite unconsciously constructed.
>
> (Jackson 1969:3)

The difficulty caused by reliance on the push-pull approach is that it overlooks the broad range of cultural factors related to population movements. Migration theory must be general enough to encompass a whole spectrum of sociocultural phenomena.

The socio-psychological element of migration is expressed by Jackson, who states:

> the interest of the sociologist in migration stems essentially from his concern with all such movements from one environment to another. Thus it is migration, albeit of a limited kind, when a child moves from cradle to bed, leaves home for first day at school or goes courting in the next village
>
> (Jackson 1969:1)

Eisenstadt's (1954) and Zimmer's (1955) studies of the "absorption" of immigrants can also be included in this category.

The classic sociological study of transatlantic migration by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), a one-way move from Poland to U.S.A., used a method avoided by demographers and economists - content analysis of letters. They found some things the economists originally overlooked: the continued ties of sentiment and affection, transfers of money and domestic political decisions, and continued sense of community membership between those who went and those who stayed.

The notion of examining the life cycle as an approach to understanding the nature of the aggregate dispersed community is not new to the study of labour migration. Leslie and Richardson (1961) examined the concept and described it in an article entitled "Life cycle, career and decision to move." The occupational element in the life cycle process is implied in Panofsky's definition: "labour migration ... the cyclical movement of wage earners from areas of subsistence agriculture to areas of wage employment, both in the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy" (Panofsky 1961:305). Panofsky's concern was with migration southward from Northern Ghana and Upper Volta to Southern Ghana, characterized for the most part by short-term excursions which differ from the Obo pattern of living away for most of the working career. He also pointed out the factor of low wages that necessitated return migration to engage in subsistence farming. Rouch's similar study confirms the idea that there is variation in length of stay in the host community which can be correlated to ethnicity and to occupational category. Yorubas, Hausas, miners, traders, and skilled workers stayed longer, while Mossi and Wangara stay a short time, as do unskilled workers, and while the Zamrema stay rarely for more than one year (Rouch op. cit. 1954). The classic study of migrant cocoa farmers in Ghana by Polly Hill (1963) provided the basic framework for this study. Although her study was of migrant Akwapem and Krobo farmers to rural areas, the social significance

of those migrations remains basically the same as for migrant Kwawu to urban areas, and comparison with Hill's observations will be made frequently in subsequent chapters.

Some anthropologists have found in migration a "rites of passage" element in the life cycle and career phenomenon:

> Among the Red Xhosa, Mayer found that senior boys approaching initiation and youths just after initiation went away to work for short periods to show their manliness and to earn some money in earnest if they were to achieve the ideal of 'having their own homestead'. However going to town had become the done thing for young men, it belonged to the role of the young and youngish man, so that the few who did not have to go for economic reasons nevertheless joined the general movement.
>
> (Gugler 1969:137,
> citing Mayer 1961:91)

However, there has been a reaction by the materialists against admitting the ritual element in return migration. As an economist argues:

> The reason why people did not remain permanently in the town was that this would not have maximized their incomes. The way to maximize income was for one member of the family to spend a period away from home, supplementing the farm income (cash and subsistence) by urban wages ... the main reason why they did not stay permanently was not that they had a high leisure preference, or that urban wages were too low, or (pace Schapera) that a term of wage employment had taken the place of warfare in the traditional progression to adulthood.
>
> (Elkan 1970:92)

Schapera did not deny the economic element of migration, but included it among social and psychological factors and propaganda and political pressure. Return migration in Botswana as an initiation into manhood replaced bogwera as a sign of maturity, and girls preferred men when they became tax payers. Push factors cited by Schapera included escape from lonely dull life and domestic control, interference of father, and inability to marry the girl of one's choice (Schapera 1947). Numerous other writers have noted similar push factors of the donor community exemplified by Banton's quote of a Sierra Leonean youth, "Make I go Freetown, Make I go free," (Banton op. cit. 48) referring to the desires of

young migrants to escape from the restrictions of living in the village.

The problem of competing economic and non-economic factors in cyclical migration, and the maintenance of home ties by migrants has been most successfully described by Gugler:

> Many high income earners maintain urban-rural ties such as we have described. Their behaviour cannot be explained in terms of economic motivation....Their gifts to relatives, their contributions to village developments, the cost of the house they build in or near their home areas stand in no proportion to the value of the limited land rights they thus maintain.... In fact this social attraction of the rural home is felt in all income groups. The main reason is presumably that the great majority of present-day urban dwellers is born and has been reared in rural communities. Many children of town parents also experience a major part of their early socialization in the village. There is nothing surprising in that individuals should feel attached to members of their extended family and other villagers they have known intimately, and conceive of themselves as members of the rural community.
>
> (Gugler op. cit.:148-9)

This use of migration as an alternative route to gaining status back in the hometown was implied in Skinner's (1965) account of the Mossi migrant returning from southern Ghana in his new clothes, offering presents to the chief, and touring the markets with musicians who sing his praises (Skinner op. cit.:69). The same applies to Southall's (1954) description of the swagger before girls of returning Alur migrants.

Gugler relates this theme to the participation by migrants in the social organization of the home community:

> The correlate of this is that urban residents continue to care about the opinion people back home hold of them. The prestige to be gained in the village makes the relationship particularly gratifying to the new urban elite.
>
> (Gugler op. cit.)

Examining the pressures of obligations and needs which operate on individuals both in the hometown and away, Mitchell constructed a paradigm tracing the various ages of migrants and the pressures in each place which operate to move him to another place:

> Where local opportunities for cash earning do not exist or are generally inadequate people migrate to satisfy their needs. Where social obligations in the rural areas persist, however, these sooner or later draw the migrants back to their places of origin. In due course because of local economic inadequacies they once again feel the necessity to seek wage-earning employment. Under these circumstances migrants circulate between places of employment and their rural homes.
>
> (Mitchell 1969:175)

The dynamics of cyclical migration in the extended Obo community clearly demonstrates the combination of social and economic factors noted by Mitchell.

The movement of people from rural settings to urban industrial situations has led some writers to expect a resultant breakdown of traditional kinship organization, and perhaps a movement towards the Western model of independent nuclear families:

> labour migration to the urban industrial areas is positively emancipating the individual from his obligations to his kinship group. Again, if a man wishes to accumulate capital to set up as a petty trader or to acquire a higher standard of living for himself, and his elementary family, he must break away from his circle of village kin towards whom he has traditional obligations. Everywhere, we see the spectacle of corporate groups of kin disintegrating and the emergence of smaller residential units based on the elementary family.
>
> (Turner 1957:43)

These conclusions were supported by a study of Italy by Banfield and Banfield (1958) and of the United Kingdom by Bracey (1958). Although this observation is not always overtly expressed in the literature, it remains the underlying assumption of much sociological study of migration in Africa. It is hoped here that some doubt will be cast on the expectations of a complete break with the past, non-adaptability of the Akan matrilineage system, and the emergence of the nuclear family as something other than a stage in a developmental cycle within an overall matrilineal kin system.

Dissatisfaction with the push-pull approach to migration, and its reliance on mainly substantive economic factors, points out the need for a theoretical approach that transcends the merely economic dimension. The wide variety of disciplines in which migration is studied, calls for an approach that includes other cultural dimensions such as ideological, technological, spatial, social, and so on. Predicting migration rates in my earlier attempt to include within costs of staying or leaving and benefits of leaving or staying, many factors not usually thought of as economic were considered. Costs included such elusive things as kin obligations or general dissatisfaction. Perceived expected benefits included bright lights, more freedom from moral constraints, and so on (Bartle 1971, 1973). However, the approach was still basically economic. A more recent, comprehensive approach appears to be that of Du Toit who looks at the totality of culture and pursues the concept of cultural marginality (Du Toit 1975:3). The cultural approach promises more understanding of the role of migration.

Du Toit's cultural approach leads to many possibilities. Since culture is a category that embraces economy, and goes beyond it, a cultural study of migration should go beyond the merely economic questions of push-pull factors. This dissertation demonstrates the cultural approach to migration by the examination of not only the economic but also other dimensions of a migrating community: its polity, institutional structure, technology, ideology and ritnols. This is one of the many possibilities leading from du Toit's cultural approach.

It was noted above that the cyclical or return element in migration (observed in this study) contributes to the social organization of a community dispersed by migration from its hometown location. We therefore now turn to the topic of return migration in the published literature.

The Literature: (c) Cyclical Migration

Some literature has referred to return migration in general (e.g., O.E.C.D. 1967, Appleyard 1962) while specific studies include Richmond's (1967) study of migrants to Canada, Wilder-Okladek's (1965) study of Jews returning to Australia, or Thistlethwaite's (1960) study of migrants to America who return to Poland or Ireland. That type of return migration differs from the regular and predictable cyclical migration from and to Obo, and within most of the third world, and implies intended one-way migration that in some sense has failed. Those studies imply that returns are the exception rather than the norm. Members of the dispersed migrant Obo community, in contrast, express an aim to eventually return home, even if it is only realized as a final return in a box.

The cyclical nature of much migration, particularly to the cities, has not been completely overlooked in the literature, however, and is increasingly becoming recognised as a major element of society, particularly in third world countries. Outside sub-Saharan Africa the maintenance of social ties and of ethnic identity was noted for Sumatra by Bruner (1961), for Beirut by Churchill (1954), for India by Crane (op. cit.), and for Cairo by Abu Lughod (1961). The pervasiveness of the return element among migrant cocoa farmers in Ghana was described by Polly Hill (1963) when she explained that the migrants remained migrants rather than becoming permanent residents of the host locations. In the recent twin books edited by Safa and Du Toit (1975) numerous other studies, mainly about Latin America and the Caribbean as well as a few other places, are described or cited, indicating how pervasive is cyclical migration and its complement, maintenance of home ties and identity. As Cardona and Simmons wrote about Latin America: "It is also clear that the return migration, given its characteristics, plays a significant role in the areas that generate it," (1975). Their point is

clearly not restricted to one continent. Chapter four will deal with the question in more detail.

The sociological consequences of the return element were noted by Houghton who wrote:

> Nor is it possible any longer to divide Africans into two broad classes: the Westernized, detribalized, urban, who have been drawn into the orbit of the world economy, and those who still belong essentially to the traditional tribal way of life. There are infinite gradations between the two extremes, and - a thing which is difficult for those outside Africa to comprehend, there are millions of Africans who not merely lie somewhere between these extremes but who spend their lives alternating between the tribal world and the modern industrial world.
>
> (Houghton 1958:41-2)

The regular movement of migrants between two or more locations opens up the possibility of a community based on identity with a place in contrast with one based on residence in a place. The widespread movement of African people between rural hometowns where they originate, and urban areas where they spend most of their working lives, requires the examination of a special social form: a unified but dispersed community both penetrating and being penetrated by other such communities, and transcending rural-urban distinctions.

The notion of cohesive total extended dispersed communities based on hometowns and migrants from those hometowns, is supported by attitudes of migrants in host communities. Caldwell discovered that:

> Very few of the migrants regarded their migration as something permanent. Four fifths were quite clear that they ultimately intended to return to their villages. One third intend to return when sickness or old age affects them, and another tenth at some age between 40 and 60 year. Another sixth had some definite goal such as saving a certain amount of money or finishing their house in the village. A full third had no idea. Of those returning, nine out of ten expect to own a house in the village by the time of their return. Of these 22% had already built it, 63% intended to do so, 11% hoped to purchase one, and 40% expected to take over a family house.
>
> (Caldwell 1967:4)

Nor is this phenomenon absent in Western countries. As shown by recent study of migrants from Spain to Italy:

> The continuity of interpersonal linkages that migrants maintain among themselves and with individuals in their place of origin may be more important in explaining ethnic identification than are continuities in cultural tradition (i.e., language, clothing, customs) *per se*.
>
> (Buechler and Buechler 1975:17)

Their description of the "hometown" and its typical demographic and social composition resulting from cyclic migration could well be a description of Obo:

> In contrast [to the host community] the parishes of origin are inhabited mainly by persons aged under eighteen and over forty, plus some younger women with two or more children and a few young men who commute to work in towns and cities or who have established small construction enterprises and other small businesses in the parish... Grandparents rear the migrants' firstborn children... The economic ties with the home community are further enhanced by the fact that migrants whose parents have sufficient land often provide their children, especially their daughters, with a plot of land to build a house.
>
> (Buechler and Buechler 1975)

Thus the present study cannot be considered an interesting but isolated description of an African community, but may serve as a model for further migration studies, and provide data for comparative purposes.

As early as the Second World War the sociological consequences of cyclical migration in Africa have been noted in the literature. Read (1942:610) wrote that urban Africans maintained links with their villages of origin. Adepoju (1974:383), citing Van Velson (1960:265), Gugler (1971:405), Caldwell (1969:140), and Mitchell (1959:12), asserted that migrants in most African towns maintain close ties with their home community, and went on to describe home visits and remittances of migrants to Ife and Oshogbo in Nigeria. Rural-urban links have been described by Van Velson (op. cit.) for Malawi, by Gugler (op. cit.) for eastern Nigeria, by Panofsky (op. cit.) for Northerners to southern Ghana, and by Gutkind (op. cit.) for Mulaga Gandans. Ampene's (1967) study of migrants to Obuasi gold mine in Ghana indicates the varying length of time

of temporary residence as it differed between various ethnic groups and occupational categories. Polly Hill's (1963) study of Southern Ghanaian migrants was noted above. Alverson (1967) went so far as to develop a time series analysis of cyclic migration. As Elkan pointed out two decades ago:

> It is in most parts of Africa the common practice to seek only temporary employment in mines or towns and sooner or later return to homes or peasant farms in the countryside
>
> (Elkan 1959)

The phenomenon is quite widespread in Ghana, as discovered by Caldwell (1967:141) in his Rural Urban Migration study of 17,000 Ghanaians. The difference between one-way and cyclical migration is in their different effects on donor and host locations. Although there is some one-way migration, the importance of return migration, and its effects on social organization is the major theoretical concern of this present study.

The maintenance of home ties by migrants living in heterogeneous urban communities gives rise to a very important sociological problem, that of identity, which is somehow related to the concept of ethnicity (Barth 1969, Cohen 1974). As Gugler points out:

> The majority of the adult population in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa is rural born and bred. Once in town, many maintain close ties with their areas of origin, their "homes." Rural origin and urban-rural ties are major determinants of ethnicity as expressed in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa today.
>
> (Gugler 1975:295)

That is why one half of the recent book on migration edited by Safa and Du Toit (1975) is devoted to the relationship between migration and ethnicity. Perhaps the extended Obo community may not be viewed as an ethnic group, that term often being reserved for Kwawu, of which Obo forms a part. Nevertheless, Obo migrants identify with their hometown and think of themselves in some ways as different from other Kwawu migrants. As Hodge points out, ... "the highly generalized, interrelated,

eclectic terms, 'identity,' 'ethnicity,' and 'self-conception,' are regarded as being similar if not identical," (Hodge 1975:31). In small communities, where there are few Kwawu migrants, Obo people find it sufficient to be known as Kwawu. In communities with numerous Kwawu migrants, such as villages near Kwawu towns, or in Accra (especially when interacting with other Kwawu people), Obo migrants find it necessary to distinguish between themselves as Kwawu from Obo and Kwawu from other towns. Thus the difference between identity and ethnicity depends on the social context. In a recent paper, Green (1975) cites Barth (1969) and Van Den Berge (1970) in showing the connection between ethnicity and identity, and their relevance to return migration.

The problem of hometown identity gives rise to what Gugler (op. cit.) called dual-identity, which, as McGee pointed out, is not restricted to Africa, as the majority of the Malay he studied are rural and urban at the same time (McGee 1975). Commenting on McGee's essay, Du Toit notes the phenomenon of dual identity:

> ... we tend to underestimate the capacity of a person to hold seemingly antithetical attitudes at the same time and the range of choice such persons have in certain actions.
>
> (Du Toit 1975:11
> paraphrasing McGee op. cit.)

The identification that Obo people hold with both host and donor location will be described in chapter four.

The cyclical nature of African migration coupled with this dual-identity therefore calls for new theories and methodology, rather than an overreliance on reproduction of one-way migration studies in Western societies. One possible approach notes:

> It seems then, that the study of a town-plus-hinterland field with its circulating personnel, cannot well hope to proceed as the analysis of 'a social structure' and that the quest for an alternative method of approach would be justified. A reasonable alternative method, it is here suggested, would be to begin at a study of migrant persons themselves, by tracing out their networks of relations from the personal or egocentric point of view, as well as noting their parts in the various structural systems.
>
> (Mayer 1962:579)

Although a network analysis may yield valuable information about Obo migration (and I used it informally in participant observation), it is argued here that there is something akin to what Mayer calls "social structure" in what above I called "community." It is a system of interrelated elements, containing all the cultural dimensions from economic to ideological, as does a relatively closed community. The dispersed Obo community is open, because of cyclical migration, and thus overlaps other systems or structures or communities, so I found it useful to apply the adjective "interpenetrating" to the system. I am grateful to Professor F. Strodbeck (1976:personal communication) for suggesting the term after I described Obo to him.

The double life of migrants who identify both with their hometown and host locations is not restricted to urban migrants but also includes those who leave their hometowns to live in hamlets or plantations:

> Apart from the few big cosmopolitan urban centres, the country is mainly agricultural and there are two kinds of life which farmers live. One is in the country town and the other is in what is called the 'village'.
>
> (Field 1960:23)

A study of Obo reveals that the community is not merely dual; i.e., hometown-plus-urban or hometown-plus-rural; but is in fact multiple: hometown plus many host locations that include cities, towns, villages, and hamlets. Its personnel circulate through all of these at various times in their careers, while Obo remains their cultural reference point.

In an interesting Marxian analysis of labour migration in and to South Africa, Magubane (1975) calls for an acceptance that the host and donor communities are not separate entitites (as proponents of apartheid would have us believe), but parts of the same system. His analysis differs from this in that it goes on to describe the total system of the host and donor areas of a country, while this one singles out a single donor community and describes its institutions in both host and donor areas. This study also differs from Magubane's approach in not relying totally on economic infrastructure as a single explanatory variable, but accepting the multi-causal and multi-dimensional cultural approach. However, it does support his point that host and donor communities cannot be understood in isolation, but must be examined with respect to each other as migrants circulate between them.

The holistic approach to the study of migration has already been encouraged by Tarver, who notes that:

> the migration phenomenon cannot be understood without analysing the dynamics and the interplay of demographic, economic, social, social-psychological and many other factors.
>
> (Tarver 1961:207)

His argument is supported in this study, because a single-element approach such as network analysis encouraged by Mayer (see above) tends to be synchronic, and the Obo community must be seen as an organic, changing entity, requiring examination of historical, technical, economic, political, social, ideological, ritual, and other cultural dimensions. The closest this study comes to the individual egocentric approach suggested by Mayer, is the aggregate of individual life courses approach described in chapter four. Looking at the extended Obo community as a single entity permits a holistic analysis of migration within it. As Du Toit pointed out:

> Increasingly, anthropologists have shown that life in any city can best be understood with reference to the total setting within which it operates. This has called for the acceptance of two concepts, namely cultural continuity and situational behaviour. Neither of those presuppose or require the acceptance of primeval, tribal, or primitive behavioral patterns, but demand ethnic and cultural variables and values which may be held and acted out in diverse physical and social settings.
>
> (Du Toit 1975:11)

This cultural approach to the study of urban migration promises to yield valuable results. The study of the extended interpenetrating Obo community as a total system, operating with all cultural dimensions from technology to ideology is one path leading from the cultural approach. To further understand Obo people in urban settings, the examination of the total Obo community of which they are a part is a necessity.

The Literature: (d) Obo

No complete study of Obo has been published, but the town has been mentioned, in passing, in descriptive travel books such as by Moore and Guggisberg (1909), de Brunner's (1959) study of witchcraft, and Garlick's studies of Kwawu traders (1967, 1971). Obo is not the town disguised as "Ayere" in Bleek's (1975, 1976) useful studies of witchcraft and kinship, although Obo is mentioned. Bleek's work is highly recommended as a penetrating analysis of Kwawu social organization. Although it relates to a different division of the traditional state, the dynamics of kinship in each town are essentially the same. Not surprisingly, Bleek found it necessary to consider migration when examining the activities of a Kwawu matrilineage. Obo is one of numerous Akan towns, and the literature on Akan social structure is immense (e.g., Rattray, Busia, Fortes, Field, Danquah, Wilks) and need not be cited here. Kwawu was closest to Asante among other Akan states, being part of the Asante empire until 1874, thus the Asante literature is useful in understanding Obo social organization. Obo was the most reluctant of

the Kwawu towns to seek independence from Asante, and it may also be noted that Agogo, on which Fortes based much of his literature on Asante kinship, is a sister town of Obo, led by an allied Aduana lineage, and lies only forty kilometres away, but on the Asante side of the border. As well as the published literature, there is a large body of unpublished archival material on Obo, which will be cited as required in subsequent chapters.

This completes an examination of the position of the Obo study in the literature. The theoretical and empirical studies noted above provide the framework for a number of hypotheses and sub-hypotheses generated for this study. To avoid redundancy, these will be listed in the concluding chapter of this thesis, with comments about the results of testing them with the ethnographic data described in chapters two to six. We therefore now turn directly to the methods employed in obtaining the data.

Methods: (a) Techniques of Observation

Cross-disciplinary approaches and the methodology of ethnography require a combination of numerous techniques of data collection in order to test hypotheses. The synthesis of data from disparate sources of information constituted the methodology and this study. Those techniques of data collection will be described here. Problems associated with the methodology will be discussed in the concluding chapter. To pursue the method of participant observation, I used a number of contacts with the Obo community. My first introduction to Obo, in 1965, came about when I was a C.U.S.O. (Canadian University Services Overseas volunteer organization) economics teacher for two years at the nearby town of Nkwatia. I met the Obo chief, Nana Kofi Bediako, and gave him a ride home from where his car had broken down. I had never seen the town of Obo before that. A long friendship developed and for the next two

years I visited the Obo palace on weekends and holidays. On a certain Akwasidae (sacred Sunday), rites were performed requesting the Obo ancestors to agree that I be adopted as the Oboheneba, son of the Obo chief, taking his name. I continued to correspond with Nana Bediako when I returned to Canada, until he passed away in 1971. In May 1972 I returned to Obo to pay respects to my deceased adoptive "father." (Bediako was my "migration father" as my genitor still lives in Canada.) The new chief, Nana Kofi Asiama II, encouraged me to take advantage of my status as Oboheneba (he inherited me along with Nana Bediako's stool, lands, palace, wives, and office), in order to pursue this study. He arranged with the Obo elders to allow me to observe and participate in a number of rites and ceremonies.

Language has been an essential element in this participant observation method and although I learned to speak some Twi on my first visit (1965-67), I spent three months in Kwawu Tafo in 1972, polishing my Twi before going to reside in Obo. Most of the three years were spent in Obo. Even when I came back to Legon to use the archives, library, and computer, I travelled to Obo, usually every six weeks for Akwasidae or else for funerals, as do most migrants from Obo who pay home visits. Most of my Twi language training was done in the field.

Other direct methods of data collection included interviews with royals, elders, elderly people, and young men and women in Obo and elsewhere. I collected life histories, personal migration patterns and decisions, oral tradition, as well as assorted bits of gossip, moral stories, and advice. On more than one occasion I was subjected to proselytism by devout members of various religious sects. Much time also seems to have been spent just sitting around killing time or waiting for something. My most important friend, advisor, and informant, is Nana Noah Adofo Akuamoa II, Kuruntehene (Mankrado) of Obo. My most important

female informant was his sister, the late Akosua Adae Seiwaa, a farmer and petty trader who spent most of her time in Obo. Other important informants included the late Nana Kwame Ampadu, the Gyaasewahene, and Nana Charles Yaw Kummipa the Obo Banmuhene, a retired trader. I made friends with the Ohemaa (queen mother) Nana Abena Korang, with a wealthy trader, Mr. Kwasi Obeng, with a blacksmith Mr. Peter Kwaku Boateng, with a small timber contractor Mr. K. Attah, with a priestess of the (Larteh based) Akonedi cult, Nana Asabea, as well as numerous students, teachers, traders, religious leaders, lorry drivers, and others from various walks of life. I travelled with Obo people to their normal migrant places of residence, villages on Obo land, in other parts in and out of Kwawu, commercial towns, and Accra.

While I lived in Obo I was adopted into an Asona lineage, the abusua (matrilineage), of the Obo Gyasewaahene. This was different from my "father's" lineage, the royals of Obo, who are Amoakade. I also accepted an invitation to become the Obo horn blower. There are two horn-blowing offices, although only one was filled, and rather infrequently. As a horn blower I was not only able to justify my existence at numerous rites and palavers, but the Kwawu Omanhene (paramount chief), Dasabre Nana Akuamoa Boateng, invited me as Obo horn blower to attend such functions as the adae kese in Abetifi, and to accompany him to the funeral of the Okyenhene in Kibi. The spatial position of horn blower, directly behind the chief in processions and in court, was advantageous in observing both formal court cases and informal palavers in the Obo palace court. Being under the umbrella also protected me from sun and rain. As the son of the chief and thus "son" of all the elders of the royal lineage of Obo I also attended private functions and discussions away from the palace: in the chief's private compound, the Queenmother's compound, and the compound of the priestess of Tano (the stool god). As

a member of the Gyaasewahene's lineage, on the other hand, I could also attend similar affairs there. I was made welcome at most functions and affairs at every house in Obo, and in the host locations where I visited.

In day-to-day business when I was in Accra or elsewhere, I would frequently be asked how I came to speak Twi (a rare achievement for Europeans) and I took that opportunity to introduce myself as Oboheneba. Clerks would then frequently go into adjacent offices or rooms, bringing back someone from Obo to meet me, his "brother" from his hometown. After a while it appeared to me that Obo people were to be found everywhere. My census, described below, confirmed the impression. My reputation often preceded me and I was known and greeted as the Oboheneba in many new places where I went. I followed a number of migrants through their various places of residence, observing their lifestyles in the hometown and elsewhere. This resulted in the firsthand observation of a large body of data, less systematic than that obtained by questionnaire, but perhaps more realistic and reliable.

Participant observation, interviews, collection of genealogies and informal conversations were supplemented with more formal data collection in the form of house counts, counts of people and lorries entering Obo, marketplace participation, counts of radio boxes and television sets, and so on. A one-quarter sample of houses was also selected for more detailed observation. For each house selected, information was recorded about the composition of the resident household, their eating and sleeping patterns, and the nature of ties that migrants had with hometown houses. Questions on the interview schedule elicited information about sex, age, kinship relationships, clan affiliations, religion, education, occupation, marital status, and residence patterns of all migrants and residents plus additional information about visiting migrants normally resident elsewhere: times, purposes, length of stay, and

marital residence patterns during hometown visits. Observations and oral traditions were supplemented with archival research, mostly in the Ghana National Archives in Accra. Regional archives at Koforidua and the royal archives of the Okyenhene at Kibbi were also consulted. Much information is also in the Public Records Office in London, but I was able to spend only three weeks there. The Royal Anthropological Institute also holds the rough field notes of Capt. R.S. Rattray, the "Ashanti" ethnographer, who visited Kwawu in 1927. There are also further sources such as colonial officers' diaries at the Rhodes Library at Oxford University, or the originals of missionaries' letters now kept in the Basel Archives in Switzerland, but in lieu of those I made use of sources at the School of Oriental and African Studies Library in London, the University Library at Cambridge, and the Balme Library at the University of Ghana, Legon. The latter included the Furley collection, and the monumental work by Paul Jenkins, now archivist at Basel, who abstracted and translated numerous letters from the missionaries at Abetifi.

Analytical methods included the collation of data from various oral and documented sources, arrangement in chronological order and by topic, then selection of all information which could further my understanding about the development and operation of the migration pattern and the dispersed Obo migrant community (or system). Numerical data, especially that collected in the household composition census, was tabulated and cross-tabulated according to numerous combinations of variables, and a selection of tables constructed from the large resulting array. For the most part, analysis consisted in pulling together a large and very disparate collection of information in order to make sense of a single superorganic entity, the community of Obo migrants and residents.

The ethnographic approach to the study of a dispersed community afforded a wide scope for eclectic techniques of observation and analysis. In this study, observation included both direct and indirect techniques; seeing and hearing about the behaviour and achievements of live people; and reading what they and other observers have written at various times. Analysis covered a spectrum ranging from tabulation and statistical analysis of numeric data to crude rearranging and sifting of a whole range of non-measurable or approximately measurable information. The major task of the study has been to tie together relevant but diverse data and to discard, or temporarily lay aside a larger quantity of less necessary information. Participant observation, collecting life histories, case studies and oral traditions, interviewing key informants, counting and describing houses in Obo and satellite villages, conducting a one-quarter sample survey of households in Obo and in selected host communities, searching archival records in Ghana and elsewhere, interviewing current and former missionaries and administrators, and following migrants to their various homes; all these were included in the techniques of data collection.

Among these sources of data, the most systematic information, for statistical purposes, was obtained by the one-quarter sample, Obo Household Composition Survey. To complete this description of research techniques, the survey will be described in more detail.

Methods: (b) The Household Composition Survey

To get an approximate estimate of the composition of the Obo population, a sample survey was administered. The objective was to obtain numerical data on Obo residents, and members of the larger Obo community, including migrants residing elsewhere who maintain their ties with Obo. It was arbitrarily decided to obtain information about every fourth house in Obo, about every resident in each of those selected houses, and

about all persons (who were associated with each selected house) that had returned to sleep at least one night in that house during the last five years. Information collected about their kinship and marriage relationships, clan or ethnic affiliations, religious affiliations, age, sex, occupation, and their education, their purposes and frequencies of return visits, and their conjugal living arrangements, will all be discussed in appropriate chapters.

Simply taking every fourth numbered house in Obo was impossible because of the gaps in house numbers as well as duplications (more than one house having the same house number), so a systematic plan of research was designed to collect a representative sample.

First, a record was made of every building in each of the six "brongs" or wards of Obo. The following information was recorded for every house in Obo: house number where evident; the condition of the house: whether habitable, not yet completed, or collapsing into ruins; the status of the building: whether for domestic use or socially functional like latrine or church; and the habitation in the house: whether usually occupied or usually empty but occupied on occasion (such as during Akwasidae or funerals). Where houses were numbered, every one with a house number divisible by four was arbitrarily chosen to be surveyed in the sample. Where there were gaps or duplications of house numbers, other numbered houses were chosen to complete the one-quarter sample. Every fourth unnumbered house on the list was chosen without looking at the house, and then checked to see if the proportion of swish/cement houses to be surveyed was the same as for the total unnumbered houses in Obo. The purpose of this systematic sampling was for every resident or migrant to have a one-quarter chance of being recorded on the household composition survey.

Empty houses were another problem. One quarter of all the usually habited houses selected for the survey could be visited: if not during the farming hours during the day, each selected house could be visited for purposes of the survey when the inhabitants returned from the schools and farms. About a third of the houses of Obo are usually empty, however, with the owners and relatives living away from Obo most of the time, returning on occasions for a few days at a time. During funerals, Easter, or Akwasidae, these empty houses might sometimes be available for survey but migrants did not return for every funeral or adae. Even when such migrants did come home they were preoccupied with grief for the funeral, or preoccupied on other occasions with visiting and with re-establishing business and social contacts. Due to the generous hospitality of the people on such occasion, the interviewer was invited to partake of some of the refreshments. As a result, neither interviewer nor interviewee was always in a suitable condition to conduct a household composition survey. Thus, while for the regularly occupied houses, one-quarter were surveyed, only one in fifteen of the normally empty but habitable houses were surveyed.

Another problem with empty houses was that not all the migrant visitors would return at the same times, so those interviewed could not give accurate or complete information about all those other migrants who might have visited.

Some difficulty was also met in surveying inhabited houses which were occupied not by Obo people but by labourers, usually from the north, or migrant Ewe, Fante, or other artisans. These people, called strangers, lived free of charge at the request of the owners in many of what would otherwise be empty houses. This practice accounts for the total disappearance of the former zongo. The strangers were hesitant about giving information about the owners and their families who might

be occasional visitors. It is therefore likely that the number of migrant visitors to such houses was higher than that recorded, and houses occupied by non-paying caretakers should be considered to have the same number of Obo migrants returning to them as those having no residents.

The Obo population is estimated in table I:a.

It will be seen that the 1973 survey estimate for the Obo resident population was about seven hundred less than the Obo resident population recorded on the 1970 census (see tables II:b. ff.). This is not necessarily (or only) a result of underestimation on the part of the survey, or of a long-term decline in Obo population. The Obo chief sent word for Obo people to return for the census, and many Obo people recalled complying with the request. Since the survey estimated 2-1/2 migrants for every 1 Obo resident, an estimated 11,728 Obo population outside Obo is not too small a group from which to draw seven hundred or more visitors. It is suggested that the estimated Obo resident population of 4,622 is an accurate estimate, not inflated by such return visits as was the 1970 census estimate.

This completes the description of objectives and sources of information for this study. The next four chapters comprise an ethnographic description of Obo and its extended community. To begin then, a sketch of the location, environment, history, and size of the population will constitute chapter two.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A brief propaedeutic discussion of the history and geography within which the Obo dispersed community is situated should clarify one's understanding of the community and the present locations of migrants from Obo.

Obo is one of the principal "stool" towns located on an escarpment in the oman (Akan state) of Kwawu (see maps II:a, II:d, II:f). Kwawu covers an area now comprising three census and administrative districts[1] which are all in the Eastern Region of the Republic of Ghana, formerly the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast Colony. Across the Onyim and Pra Rivers to the west is the Asante Akyem district of the Ashanti Region. Two districts in the Eastern Region border the Kwawu district. South of Kwawu, bordering on land belonging to Obo is the oman of Akyem Kotoku in the district of West Akim. South and east of Kwawu is the oman of Akyem Abuakwa in the district of East Akim. The eastern boundary of Kwawu, north of the Afram River, is the Volta River, east of which is the Volta Region of Ghana. Both rivers began flooding in 1964 to form the Volta Lake, which considerably reduced Kwawu land. Some lands in the Volta Region, north of the oman of Akwamu, once belonged to Kwawu and were then known as Asabi and Nkami. North are the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions containing lands once known as Pae and Dukoman, formerly belonging to Kwawu. Pae, Asabi, and Nkami were lost during British and German colonial occupation.

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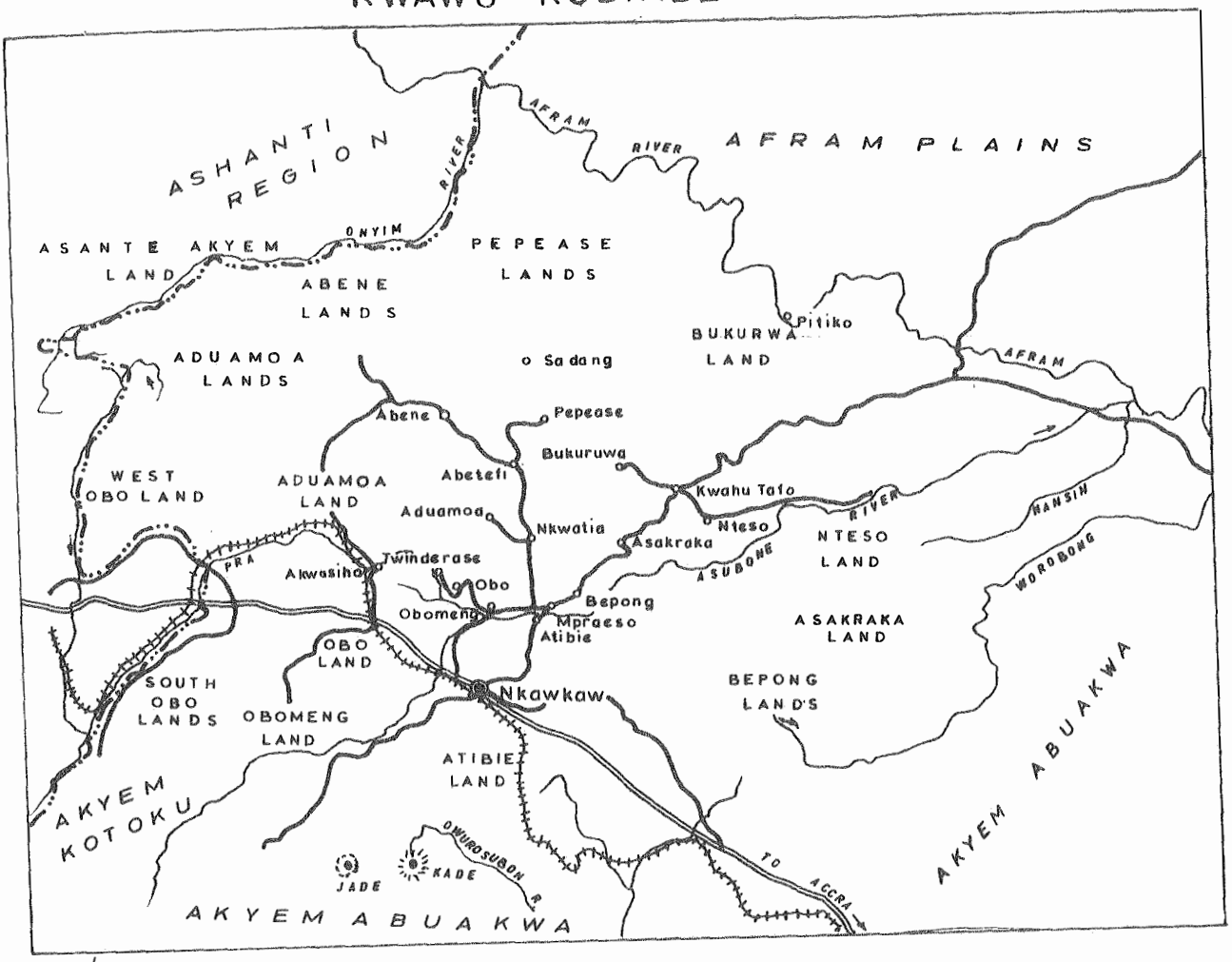
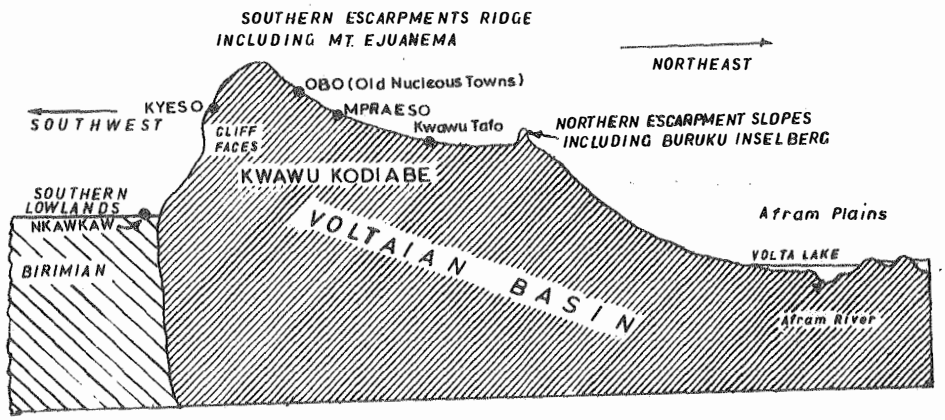
1. The three 1970 census districts were South Kwahu, North Kwahu, and Afram. The Administration has not yet changed the colonial "Kwahu" spelling to the "Kwawu" spelling which more closely approximates the pronunciation, and which was approved by the Institute of African Studies. Obo is 0° 45' west longitude and 6° 38' north latitude.

KWAWU KODIABE



P. B. / C.L.A.

SOUTHERN RIM OF VOLTAIAN BASIN



P. B. / C.L.A.

The Kwawu escarpment (averaging 650m. elevation) is about four hundred metres higher than the land to the south of it, and is occasionally cited by Obo elders as a factor in the high propensity of Kwawu people to migrate for purposes of trade (see diagram II:b). Although the highlands of the scarp were relatively safe and offered military advantages for defence, their area was limited. The Kwawu people could not extend their influence onto the lowlands of the south and east to farm, fish, and hunt, without soon coming into conflict with their neighbours: Akyem Abuakwa, Akyem Kotoku, and Asante Akyem. The Afram plains on the northeast side of the scarp, excellent as a source of elephant and other game until early this century, is wooded savanna. The Kwawu, like other Akan, were farmers, but their skills were better designed for the rain forests on top of and to the south of the escarpment rather than for the dry woods and grass of the Afram plains. For most of its history, the Kwawu population has thus been concentrated in the central nucleus towns. Each town, communally organized into federations of Akan matrilineages, owns land roughly shaped like wedges spreading out onto the more sparsely populated lowlands. See map II:d. The outer edges of each wedge are dotted with numerous villages which can be thought of as satellites of their respective central nucleus towns up on the scarp. See diagram II:c. Thus there are three major geographical divisions of Kwawu: the southern lowlands, the escarpment or Kwawu Kodiabe, and the Afram Plains. We will look at these in turn.

Geography: (a) The Highlands and Lowlands

Obo is an aerie located on the scarp with the other central nucleus towns; the capital of numerous villages located on a large area of submontane land down on the southern Kwawu lowlands. Obo land is located on the highlands and southern lowlands, but not on the Afram which will be described below. Note diagram II:b. First the lowlands.

Below the tropical rain forest on the southern lowlands,[2] diamonds found at Nyafoman near the Akyem Kotoku border have attracted a few cyclical migrants, while clay at the foot of Apaku Mountain has annually attracted women from Mpraeso and Atibie. Gold has attracted miners to lands belonging to Obo and Obomen near Apradan,[3] throughout Akan history as recounted by elders. The forest yields numerous commercial hardwoods such as mahogany and odum and softer trees such as wawa. Akan traditions relate that the first (Akan) migrants to the area came as hunters exploring the forest, but numerous neolithic axes found in the farms indicate farming activities that long predated Akan intrusions. These natural resources encouraged a limited amount of cyclical migration to the lowlands, but by far the largest movement of people to the area was for agrarian use of the soil, sun, and rain.

Oranges, cocoa, kola, primarily for export, and numerous vegetables for both local consumption and export, are all cultivated now in the lowlands rain forest. A substantial proportion is sent to Nkawkaw, to

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2. In Kwawu the lowlands comprise the northwestern portion of a large triangular-shaped undulating rain forest that extends to Akwapem in the southeast and to the Ivory Coast in the west. As part of the Tarkwaian geological series the land is characterized by Birrimian rocks, metamorphosed lavas, schists, and phylites - diamonds, clay and gold are common (Church 1966:389). Vegetation is classed as Celtis - Triplochitton or moist semi-deciduous rain forests, and on Forest-ochrosis soils.

3. There are a number of references to the historical extraction of gold on the lowlands. "Between 1910 and 1915 there was a local gold rush to the southwest lowlands, at the head waters of the river Nwi in the Apradan group of villages... by local miners mainly from Obomen," (Ofori 1965:6). Ramseyer wrote that, "...the chiefs of Obo and Obomen regard this part of the country as far as Pankese and even further on as their own, saying that from ancient time this land was granted to their forefathers by the King of Akem, but nevertheless as they are digging gold on that land they pay a kind of tribute to the King of West Akem, Atafua ...," (Ramseyer 1889:Jan 10, A.D.M.11/573). Oral traditions collected in villages around Esaase indicate gold being dug from the time of the earliest Akan hunters exploring the area. Of the two Kwawu regions on the Dutch map dated 1629, described elsewhere, the one stating "Rich in Gold" may refer to the lowlands as the source, because the other regions of Kwawu do not bear gold.

the hometowns on the scarp, and to Accra. Hunting and mineral extraction still account for some migration to the southern Kwawu lowlands, and some timber-cutting operations continue, but the most productive current activity is farming. Although the lowlands are more sparsely settled than the escarpment (see table II:k), the numerous villages there are all rapidly growing in size.

The vegetation up on the escarpment[4] is similar to that on the southern lowlands, while the geological structure of the plateau is the same as the Afram: that of the southern rim of a large saucer-shaped basin, a horst which stretches north to the Gambaga Escarpment, west to the Wenchi and Konkori scarps, and east to the Nkonya and Kpandu highlands of the Volta Region. See diagram II:b. The large man-made lake, created by building the Akosombo Dam to flood the Afram and Volta Rivers, fills the lowest parts of the Voltaian Basin. On the escarpment, the highest altitude is along the southern edge (Tutuojiram, altitude 840 m.). The highlands average around 600 m. in altitude across the hilly top, and gently slope down towards the north, to the Afram branch of Lake Volta. The sacred inselberg, Buruku, shrine of the chief of the Kwawu gods, stands well above the surrounding northern versant of the scarp, at an altitude of 500 m.

In contrast to the northern gentle slopes, the southern rim is more abrupt, a palisade of vertical and concave cliffs that face the southern lowlands (diagram II:b). As the Akan oman of Kwawu developed, various towns were assigned strategic positions on the edge of the escarpment to look out and to warn the others of any enemy advancing towards the scarp. Higher and cooler than the lowlands, the scarp was called the

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4. Classed as Antiaris Chlorophora Association (Church op. cit.).

"Switzerland" of the Gold Coast[5] by Swiss missionaries and British administrators. The highest population density in Kwawu is in the central highland nucleus, at 300 per square mile (in 1960), in contrast with less than 2 per square mile in part of the Afram Plains (Ofori 1965:iii). The hilly escarpment is deeply gorged by rivers, most of which, like the Asuboni and Worobon, flow north to the Afram, and a few of which descend the southern cliffs, as does the Pra River which then becomes the boundary for the Ashanti Region. There are numerous caves. Like rivers and other natural formations, the caves are thought to be inhabited by spiritual entities. Some caves house fruit bats which the Kwawu relish in their soup. Bauxite, briefly mined by Americans during World War II is the only commercially important mineral on the escarpment. Snails and limited small game are found in the forest. Most of the land around each town is used for intensive farming but not enough can be produced locally to feed the large population, so food must be imported from the satellite villages in the lowlands.

Obo land is located on the central highlands and the southern lowlands. We now look at the third geographical division of Kwawu.

Geography: (b) The Afram Plains

North of the Afram Lake, historically less important to Obo than to the towns on the north side of the cluster, lies the third geographical region of Kwawu: the Afram Plains, once inhabited by the Guan, with their capital at the now flooded village of Gyaneboafo. After the Guan were evicted, the plains became a hunting and fishing chase for the Akan

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5. "Okwawu Kodiabe or the inhabited portion of the country is called by the German missionaries the 'Switzerland of the West Coast of Africa' on account of the mountains for no town can be reached without ascending or descending one. From Mpraeso mountain a beautiful landscape of surrounding country southwards including the Akropong Range may be obtained," (Smith 1888:Dec. 13, A.D.M. 11/573).

on the scarp. Lying in the Voltaian Basin, the average altitude of the Afram Plains is only 100 m. above sea level. A 220 m. (alt.) central ridge acts as a watershed for rivers running south and east to Lake Volta and north to River Obosom. Sand is collected occasionally at Nkyenenkyene, while limestone and marble are quarried on the plains and at Asuboni.

The land,[6] long suitable for farming, has been opening up to large-scale commercial agriculture only in the last two decades. A number of Obo people are now farming on the Afram, and some enterprising Obo women transport vegetable foodstuffs, as well as smoked bush meat and fish back to Obo and on to Nkawkaw and Accra. Although once an important source of elephant meat and ivory, the Afram still provides limited meat and fish where the rapidly expanding farms do not interfere with hunting.

The Afram plains have attracted several non-Akan migrants who wished to exploit its resources, including the Ewe and Krobo. Migrant Battor fishermen[7] had been building villages in the area even before the lake rose. With their nets, boats, and sails, they are more proficient

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6. Vegetation on the Afram is classed as Guinea Savanna Woodland and soils are classed as Laterite ochrosol intergrades and Savanna ochrosols. The geological base, unlike that of the southern lowlands, is an extension of the escarpment which is the southern rim of the saucer, (Church op. cit.).

7. "... the Tongu are now emigrating to the shores of the Volta Lake where the fishing industry is said to be booming. This type of migrant fishing is different from the earlier pattern of labour migration which supplemented their traditional subsistence farming. In the latter, they always came back for their annual festivals and mortuary rites. In the present system it seems that the traditional homes are being gradually depopulated in favour of the settlements around the lake," (Fiawoo 1974:168). The migrant Tongu fishermen, with canoes, sail boats, and nets are much more skilled at fishing than the Akan, and formerly the Guan, who dammed the rivers and put a herb on the water to kill the fish. Tongu migrants on the Kwawu Afram are mentioned by Ameyaw et al (1964) who include some oral traditions of their migrations.

at fishing than were the Kwawu who merely dammed and poisoned the rivers like Guan. Experiments with cocoa in 1912 at Faso, Samanhye, and Donkokrom attracted migrant Krobo farmers from about 1928 (Ofori op. cit. p. 8).

Farming has been an important factor in numerous migratory movements on the Afram. The northern slopes of the escarpment and adjacent areas on the plains have been drying up as the Sahara and Savanna slowly move southward. Formerly lush cocoa plantations are now dry scrub, interspersed with a few fields on which attempts are made to grow maize. The Nansin area on the northern slopes has been losing population as migrants seek more promising areas. In contrast, Donkorkrom and Tease out on the plains have become bustling centres for food farming and marketing. They and other villages are attracting many Obo people. In the same way that Obo people migrated to their stool lands in the southern lowlands from earliest times, then to the cocoa towns of Akyem, and to the farms of Asante Akyem in colonial times, since independence they have also began migrating in larger numbers to grow cash food crops on the Afram Plains.

The Volta River Project interfered with this migration onto the Afram when the lake began rising from 1964, flooding Worobon, Mankron, Nketepa, and Asuboni on the south side, and Aponapon, Ekye (founded by an Obo hunter), and the historic site of Pitiko on the north side of the Afram River. On the east bank of the Volta River, the ancient Kwawu sites of Asabi and Nkami were also flooded along with the Ewe village of Atikpale. Over 12,000 people on the Afram had to be resettled, shrines of gods and ancestors appeased and moved, and then resettlement villages built on higher ground.

Recent migration for farming has expanded the population of the Afram, and various new settlements have appeared among the older ones.

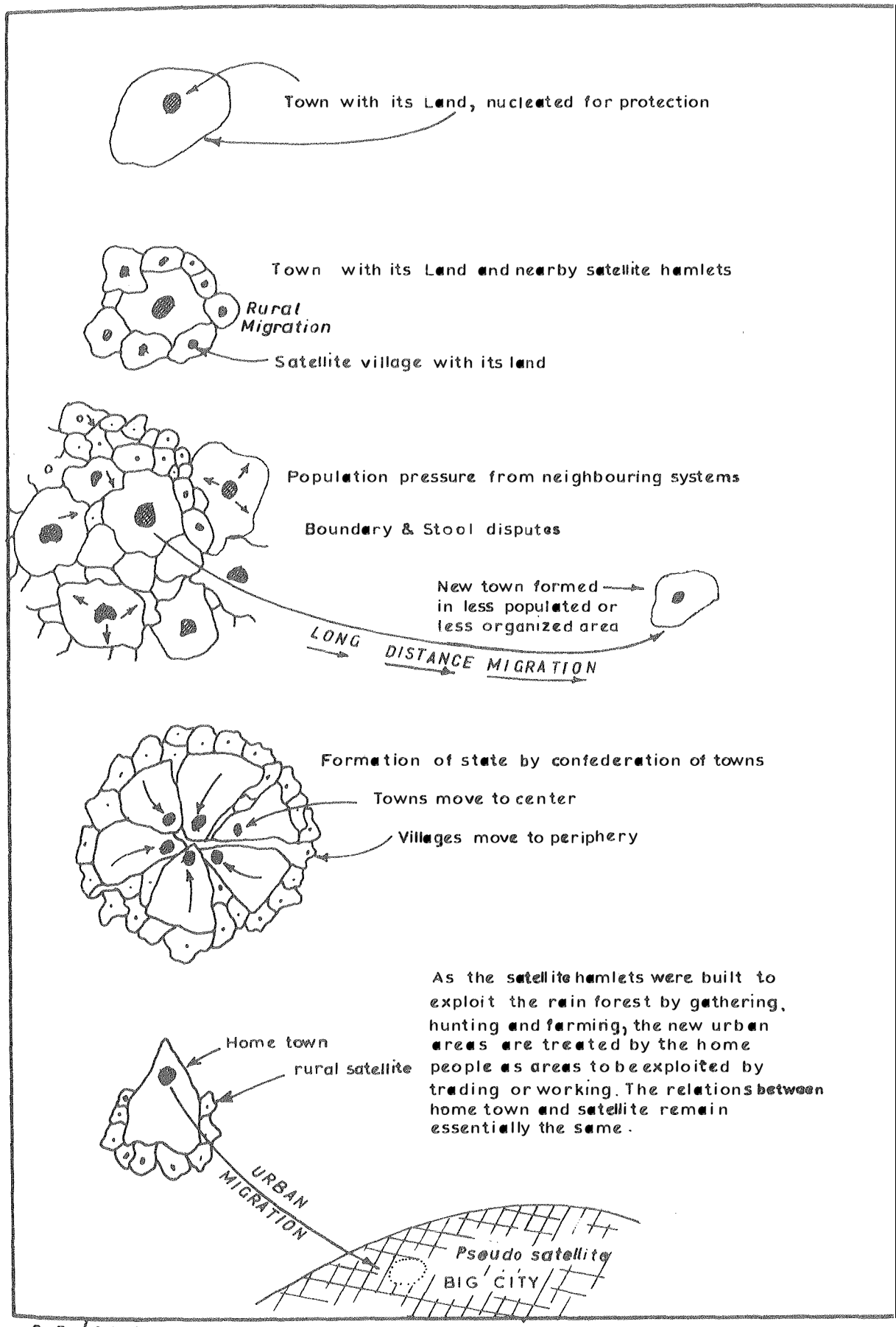
The road which was linked by ferry to the plains from Mankron on the south bank since 1950, and bridged from 1955, is now relocated at the new site of Adawso where a new ferry now daily transports lorries, people, and foodstuffs. Utilizing their historical links, and shared descent and membership in the Aduana group of matriclans, Obo migrants have profitably maintained ties with Pitiko, Ekye, and other settlements on the Afram. Socially, the Afram resembles the southern lowlands, in that it attracts migrant Obo farmers, even though no Obo traditional stool lands are located on the north side of Kwawu.

This completes a sketch of the physical location and ecology of Kwawu, in which the town of Obo is situated. We turn now to a socio-geographic model: a settlement pattern that developed among the Akan who came to populate Kwawu. It will be demonstrated that this geographical arrangement of people, the "hometown-satellite" provided a social basis, the "home-away-home" model, for a pattern of cyclical migration which even today characterizes movements to the city as well as to villages, and thus contributes to the dispersed community.

Geography: (c) Hometown and Satellite

Densely populated defence settlements had good chances of survival in the rain forest when warfare was endemic, which it was during the era of the Atlantic slave trade. An isolated "homestead" pattern of settlement was less useful for resisting slave raids than the "nucleus-satellites" pattern developed by the Akan. The latter pattern was an important element in the development of the modern dispersed interpenetrating migrant community, contributing to complementary "home-away" institutions. Organized in a confederation of exogamous matrilineages (described more fully in chapter five), people in nucleated settlements could resist attack, yet farm, hunt, and mine in the ambient countryside during more pacific times. When they thrived, their population increased

SCHEME OF SATELLITES MODEL



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beyond the level supported by the immediate neighbourhood. Townspeople having to walk longer distances to their farms and hunting grounds built temporary shelters, often remaining overnight at first. Hamlets and thorps grew up as the townspeople later stayed for necessarily longer time periods, and thus the gemmiparous satellites eventually budded off from the hometowns. See diagram II:c.

Migrants staying for longer proportions of their lives in the satellites continued to return to their hometowns for important public religious rites and festivities and for funerals. Although they eventually spent most of their working and child-rearing years in the satellite villages, the members of the dispersed community each eventually returned home to take up political office, or to retire, and ultimately to be buried. (The resultant age structures are shown in diagram IV:b and analysed in chapter four). These hometowns and satellites which were only a few miles apart and closely integrated, have given birth to a cultural pattern of migration and identification. This pattern then served as an anlage for later stoloniferous migrations over further distances and into different, including urban, social situations.

The pattern of a hometown nucleus, with its satellite villages, is a functional element of a total community characterized by a political system based mainly on gerontocracy, an ideological system based on ancestor worship, and a social architecture based on confederated exogamous matrilineages that are characterized by temporary conjugal affiliations during the middle (and usually migrating) years of each member of the community. The social and political elements of this migration and settlement pattern will be described later.

The satellites in turn continued to grow and more closely resembled their hometowns. Population pressure resulted in the formation of further satellites, the earlier ones sometimes becoming hometowns to the

later ones. When overall population in any area (as in the original Akan homelands) became too large for local satellite expansion, then segmentary social forces in the matrilineal system permitted and encouraged groups of people to "bud off" (like ant colonies) and migrate long distances. That is how the Akan came to Kwawu. Although disputes may have characterized these en masse movements over long distances, centrifugal tensions were then reduced by the resulting decrease in population pressure. Kinship ties were recalled, and identification with matrilineal origins were maintained even centuries after the breakaway settlements had found new places to settle.

When satellites (host locations) grew and sent migrants to satellites of their own (becoming donor locations), the difference between host and donor became one of degree, not quality. "Hometown" or "satellite" concepts must therefore be thought of as pure or ideal types. Older established towns, including Obo, closely resemble the pure hometown type, yet they are also host locations for migrant teachers, carpenters, masons, and other artisans and labourers from numerous other places. The extended Obo community penetrates numerous other communities, including Accra, but in turn, to a lesser extent, is penetrated by some other communities.

In a pattern later also observed in urban migration, the movement from hometown to satellite in its early stages included more men than women. Thus, according to oral traditions, the most pioneering of hunting hamlets or farming villages, like the most distant or most urban towns today, had a higher proportion of men than women. As the satellites became more populated, safer, and more established, women came increasingly frequently. Residence patterns in the satellites, in contrast to the hometowns, became increasingly based on conjugal ties and direct offspring as are residence patterns in the cities today. As

the satellites became established, sending out their own migrants, their residence patterns came to resemble those of the hometown, based on matrilineal inheritance and unilineal descent groups. The origin, growth, expansion, and reproduction of Akan settlements had a (social) pattern which was later adapted to a modern interpenetrating spatially dispersed cyclically migrant community. These social patterns will be described in chapters four and five.

Variations in the basic anisotropic pattern developed as economic and technological conditions changed, each requiring different adaptations. Well into the past, long-distance traders made business trips from Kwawu, adapting to changes in market locations and commodities. At first they dealt in salt, gold, kola, ivory, and muslim handicrafts, then in slaves, and later in beads, rubber, coffee, cocoa, and European trade goods such as cloth from the coast. They travelled to the Brong Ahafo Region, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Togo, Dahomey, and to the coast of Ghana (those place names not being used then), but kept close ties with their hometowns. Lying on a formerly important trade route, the Kwawu towns attracted numerous migrant traders, some of whom eventually became permanent members of the community. With the late nineteenth century decline in slave trading, and then the rise in palm, coffee, cocoa, and other cash crops, new commercial towns grew up between Kwawu and the coast. Men and later women began moving to new towns, not to stay away only a few weeks or months, like the early adventive long-distance traders, but to settle for years. Later Kwawu migrants went to Accra. Like the satellite hunters and farmers, they paid return visits for the festivals and funerals in the hometowns. Some social forms resembling those of the satellite villages developed in the urban migrant communities. Obo, for example, now has an "odikro" in Accra, leading the Obo community there and looking after the interests of the chief of Obo

as does an odikro in a satellite village on Obo land (see chapter five). The social geography of the hometown-satellite pattern is thus an important factor in the social organization of urban migration.

This completes an initial description of the spatial dimension of Obo and the rest of Kwawu. A few geographical details will be included later, as in descriptions of Obo neighbourhoods and the demographic distribution of Obo migrants. Before that, however, we turn to a sketch of Kwawu history to form a skeleton on which we later put the flesh of historical references when describing social changes or the development of some aspects of Obo.

History: (a) Migrations from the Earliest Times

To provide a picture of the historical background within which the dispersed Obo community developed, a number of archaeological and documentary sources have been compared with Obo oral tradition and synthesized here.[8]

Kwawu, like most of West Africa, has been characterized by successive waves of migrations and conquests wherein newer cultures have been added onto or absorbed by existing ones. Until between approximately 3500 B.C. and 3100 B.C., the inhabitants of West Africa were engaged primarily in gathering and hunting. New people moved in and their pottery and polished stone axes (Davies 1961) indicate a more sedentary agrarian society. Their shifting agrarian culture might be seen as an early form of cyclical migration. They regularly left depleted farmlands and burned

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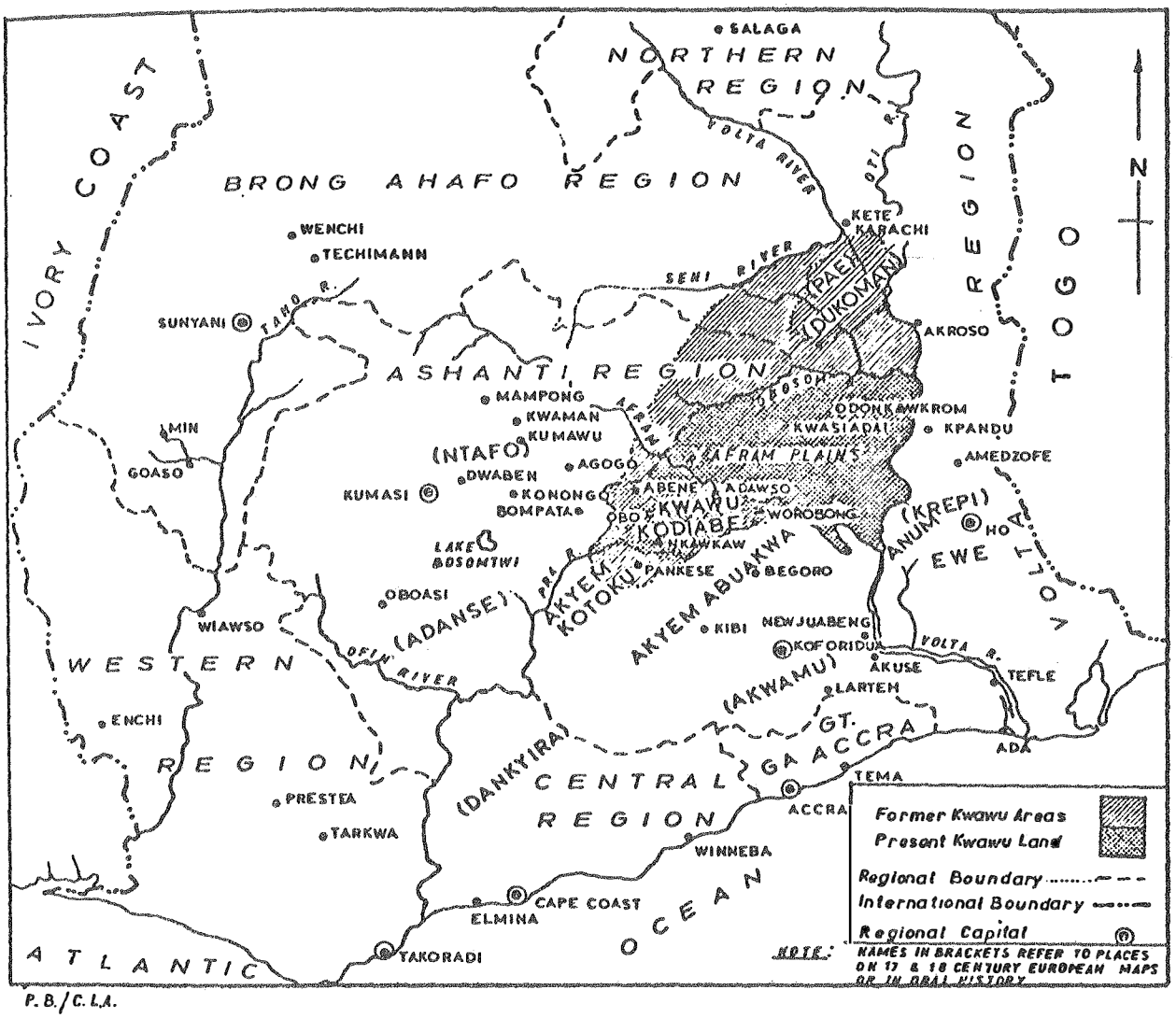
8. Published narrative histories of Kwawu, based on oral traditions include Perregaux (1902), Walker (1925), Wallis (1953), Ameyaw (1965), and Garlick (1967). All of these have been consulted and compared with partisan claims recorded in boundary disputes heard by British colonial administrators (in the A.D.M. series of the Ghana National Archives in Accra, Koforidua, and Kibi). Further unpublished accounts consulted include Akuamoa V (1921), Rattray (1927), Addow (n.d. circa 1927), Ameyaw et al (1964), and Ameyaw (1965).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF KWAWU



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the bush that had grown where previous farms had similarly been left fallow for many years. The early people were, among other things, troglodytes, although they also erected shelters away from the caves. Wet climate, acid soils, and biodegradable building material have resulted in the destruction of other shelters, but the now sacred caves and rocky overhangs are often found to be useful archaeological sites. Although little is known about the social organization of the earliest people, they were located on what is now seen as a trade route (described in the next chapter), and archaeological remains (Shaw 1944) indicate that migration (perhaps also trade) was not unknown to them. How they contributed to present-day migration and social organization is open to speculation, but it can be assumed that when newcomers arrived the earliest migrants did not become extinct.

Carbon 14 tests made in archaeological excavations in a cave at Abetifi indicate an incursion, dated 5,370 years ago (give or take a century), characterized not only by the introduction of pots and axes, but also by palm which indicate a subsequent selective speciation due to domestication by man. Non-autochthonic rock tools indicate long-distance intercourse, particularly along the Afram route. The highest level in which a major deposit of charcoal was located was dated at about 750 years before present (plus or minus 75 years) indicating the last secular habitation in the cave. Subsequently the cave has been used only for religious purposes (Smith 1974). At all levels, tools made from rocks originating elsewhere and other evidence indicate patterns of settlement, farming, and migrations which long preceded the era described by the earliest available oral traditions (Shaw 1944).

Although little more can be said about the earliest arrivals to Kwawu, more is known about later arrivals. It is not even established how many waves of migrants came. Since more is known about the last two

major groups to come to Kwawu, we now turn to them, asking what was their contribution to social organization and migration patterns of today.

From the time of the break-up of the ancient Ghana Empire in the thirteenth century A.D., population pressure pushed many people, including merchants from Ghana and Mali, south to the rain forest (Goody 1966, Kimble 1963). At some time the Guan, then later the Akan, came into the Kwawu area, pushing out or/and absorbing earlier inhabitants. The Guan are a patrilineal people related to the Gonja (Goody op. cit.) with a language (apparently one of the elemental languages which formed Twi), which is closely related to the Twi that is spoken by the Akan now in Kwawu. Both Guan and Twi are classed in the Kwa language group.

The Guan came south primarily down the Volta River and spread west up the Afram River and along the coast, eventually populating the whole area of southern Ghana (Davies 1961). Later, in contrast, the people who developed into the Akan (perhaps a mixture of Mande Dyula, Guan, and others) migrated south through Begho (50 km west of Wenchi) in the Brong Ahafo Region. See map I:a. The similarity of social structure (matrilineal) indicates some influence by migration and the expansion and later disintegration of the Mali empire. The Akan travelled down the Tano River through the Adanse area before expanding from there to occupy most of the areas formerly inhabited by Guan (Wilks 1962). Before describing the Twi-speaking Akan, who presently inhabit Kwawu, a brief discussion of known earlier inhabitants, the Guan, is necessary here.

Consisting of loosely associated patrilineal groups, and being less organized for war, the Guan were eventually defeated, destroyed, or absorbed by the matrilineal Akan. A few small enclaves of extant Guan communities remain: the Effutu people at Senya Bereku or at Simpa (Winneba) described by Wyllie (1968), the Date (Larteh) people described

by Brokensha (1966:XVII), and the Kyerepong, both located in Akwapem, and the Nchumuru to the north of Kwawu described by Lumsden (1974).

Some Kwawu religious practices appear to be pre-Guan survivals, while others appear to be Guan survivals. The new (Akan) people first came peacefully but when they grew populous and powerful they overthrew the earlier inhabitants, removing leaders and warriors but keeping children, wives, and slaves. This resulted in religious if not political and social continuity. Beliefs in Guan gods were perpetuated by those survivors even if they had to learn Twi and practice Akan customs.

A number of vague references to early Akan history in oral traditions also point to Guan ancestry. Ansong (1959:8) wrote of the first Akan migrants to Abetifi who found a hunter, Kwabena Atia, in a single hut in the bush. Although his origin is unknown, he founded the Asere lineage under the Akan regime. Ameyaw wrote of the arrival of Akan at Bokuruwa, who found Yaw Awere, the "Adontenhene" of Ataara Firam, and a number of other inhabitants whose origin is not certain, but, "... probably of the Ataara Firam race, or members of his group," (Ameyaw 1965:2). Oral traditions of some Kwawu matrilineages (in Obo the Ankobeahene's lineage, for example) hint of patrilineal origins. They suggest their people were living in Kwawu before the Bokuruwa people came but allied with the incoming Akan for mutual protection.[9] Bagyire VI (1965), himself a royal of one of the remnant Guan communities, wrote in his description of the early Guan "Empire" that the Guan reached their zenith under "Ataala Fiau VI." Ataara Firam's control covered, "... Accra

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9. Other pre-Bokuruwa settlers included Kosa Brempon near Nkwatia, Bransem Diawuo near Kesepong, Adamu Yanko at Nkwaefo, and Odiaba and Tutuso near Aduamoa (those towns not having yet been founded). See Ameyaw (1966). The ancient sites of the Obo Ankobeahene's lineage include Obobe, Nkwaem, Ahominso, Babaabi, and Anyinam, which all now are middens in the escarpment rain forest between Obo, Nkwatia, and Bepon.

plain, Akwapem, Manya Krobo, Yilo Krobo, Akwamu, Akyem Abuakwa, Kwahu, Ashanti Akyem, Boron, Hwereman." It is unlikely that the Guan were organized to a high degree of complexity such as an empire, for they apparently lacked the military unity and complexity of the Akan who later came to dominate. As a loose association of segmentary patrilineages, they did occupy a large area of which a part is now Kwawu, and although further migrations introduced subsequent traits, they have contributed to the culture of what is now Kwawu.

We now look at the most recent arrivals to Kwawu, who, although they did not completely eradicate the culture of the earliest people, put the indelible stamp of Akan political and social organization on the population of Kwawu. The people who now live in Kwawu, the Twi-speaking Akan, did not migrate there as a single group, or even from a single place. Akan social organization was characterized by lineage segmentation; disputes within and between the lineages characterized the centrifugal forces of expansion and hegira from the Adanse and Dankyera areas. Brabbles and velitations coloured the history of Kwawu as each lineage migrated to settle in Kwawu. The two major groups contending for leadership in the Kwawu state were lineages of the Agona clan and lineages of the Bretuo-Tena clans, while other lineages came to populate less important towns of Kwawu. The groups which eventually united to constitute the town of Obo, for example, belonged to the Aduana group of clans. The Akan political structure is modelled on an aliform military pattern similar to that of a football game, in which the divisions represent the ideal deployment taken during battles.

The oman or state has an Omanhene or paramount chief supported by his Gyaasehene or domestic chief. There are a number of divisions, each headed by what the English called a "wing" chief. The adonten wing was the vanguard headed by Adontenhene. The nifa was the right guard headed

by the Nifahene. The benkum wing was the left guard headed by the Benkumhene. The kyidom wing was the rear guard headed by the Kyidomhene. Although every state had its peculiarities (e.g., for Akyem Kotoku, see Field 1948), this was the fundamental pattern of the early Akan states of Adanse and Dankyera and later the Akwamu and Asante who superseded the first two in prominence. The common pattern was for related lineages to be grouped together in a single division, although any one division was not filled by the same lineage from state to state. Although disputes within lineages led to segmentation and migration of parts of each group to places such as Kwawu, the ideology of clan solidarity resulted in alliances between former members of a single lineage, even if they then paid allegiance to different states, after population pressure and land competition was relieved by the migration. More details of this social and political structure will be provided in chapter five.

The exact dates of the Akan arrivals are unknown, but their descendants claim that the Akan gave Kwawu its name (Okwawu) when they came. Since the earliest documentary reference to the name is on a Dutch map reputed to have been drawn in 1629, it would appear that the Akan had arrived in Kwawu at least by the sixteenth century.[10] Oral traditions indicate that Ataara Firam was overthrown late seventeenth century, and if the same chief of Kumawu who succeeded to office when his predecessor died in the war against Ataara was the one who died in the 1701 war of the Asante against Dankyera (Tweneboa Kodia), then oral

10. The map is dated 25 December 1629, Caerte 743, Algemeen Rijsaarchief. A photocopy in the Furley collection indicates that it was known to modern scholars before Ghana's independence, although the first published record of the map is in Ghana Notes and Queries (Daaku and Van Danzing (1966:14-15). Fynn (1971) and Boahen (1969) did not acknowledge either of these sources in their published versions of the map. The map or the people who made it may be the source used by Dapper (1670) when he described Kwawu.

traditions may be believed. By 1629 then, the Bretuo-Tena may have been established in Dukoman while the Agona were settled on the escarpment, thus accounting for two areas named Kwawu, but Ataara may still have ruled the Afram between the two Kwawu groups. Alternatively, the area could have been known as Kwawu before the Akan arrived. Whenever they occurred, let us examine events that lead to the replacement of Guan by Akan culture in Kwawu.

Along a trade route between Begho and the coast, partly down the Tano River valley, a cultural "melting pot" nurtured the matrilineal Akan, whose various predecessors apparently came from the north. In the late fifteenth century the Portuguese had already discovered the southern, coastal terminal of that trade route at Edina (Elmina), though there is some dispute today among historians whether the Europeans met an itinerant leader of Mande Dyula merchants called Cara Mansa, or an Akan called Kwa Mensah. In the area south of what is now Asante, a number of Akan states including Adanse and Dankyira developed and grew powerful. Population pressure, slave trade warfare, and an efficient military social structure based on matriliny and gerontocracy combined to result in Akan expansion to other areas, including Kwawu.

By 1629, when a map of the interior was drawn by the Dutch, two areas labelled "Quahoe" appear, one reputed to contain rascals, and the other a source of gold. No mention was made of Ataara Firam or Gyaneboafo, even though it is commonly assumed (Ofori op. cit.) that the major Akan migrations to Kwawu occurred about fifty years later.

Although the time is uncertain, two major Akan groups came to Kwawu: (1) an Agona lineage related to the royal lineage of Dankyira who founded Bokuruwa on the scarp, and (2) some Bretuo-Tena lineages related to the royal lineage of Asante Mampong. The latter went to Kwawu Dukoman before coming back to found Abene on the scarp. It is not unreasonable to

assume that the two Kwawu regions on the Dutch map correspond to these two important rival Akan factions. Less important lineages that came included an Aduana lineage to found Pitiko and an Asona lineage to found Nkwatia, perhaps at the same time or more likely earlier. The Agona, Bretuo, Asona, and Aduana lineages will be discussed in turn.

The first important Akan migrants to Kwawu were members of an Agona matrilineage. After some unspecified disputes, Osei Twum and Frimpong Manso (of related Agona lineages) left Ntim Gyakari or his predecessor in Dankyera and migrated en masse with their god, Obo-Nyame, and their black stools,[11] to a number of places including Dampon in Asante Akyem. The two migrant groups then separated. Osei Twum and his followers migrated to Kwawu and left Frimpong Manso who later founded the Akyem Kotoku state. Oral traditions vary in their details, but Osei Twum or his successor Baadu sent a sumankwa (messenger) called Kwasi Tititie (his nephew, brother, or son according to various sources) and a slave called Kofabra ("go bring") to scout the land. Kofabra died at the site of a rock bowl in a stream and, as an earlier prophesy had recommended, Osei Twum's people came to settle there, calling the town Bokuruwa (obo = rock, kuruwa = bowl). Because the slave died, they named the area akoa wu (akoa = slave, wu = die) or Okwawuo (thus Kwawu). The Agona lineage that settled at Bokuruwa were the first royal Akan lineage, who dominated Pitiko (Aduana) and Nkwatia (Asona). Baadu became the first Omanhene of Kwawu. Although disputes characterized their migration from Dankyera, matrilineal kin ties reasserted themselves and in subsequent Kwawu history they occasionally allied themselves with other Agona lineages in Dankyira and Akyem Kotoku.

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11. If there were numerous black stools, it was unlikely that Osei Twum, Frimpong Manso, and Ntim Gyakari would be brothers, each with their own stools. They were more likely heads of allied Agona lineages sharing an ideology of common descent as allied lineages do today.

The second important Akan migrants to Kwawu were members of Bretuo-Tena matrilineages. Troubled by Boa Amponsem and Ntim Gyakari, other lineage segments left the areas of dominant Dankyira and subordinate Adanse states. Among these were a number of Bretuo-Tena lineages who left Adanse Ayawase (near Fomena) after some disputes with Adanse Akrokeri. They moved north, stopped at Tokwabuhu, and eventually separated to found Asante Mampong, Jamasi, and Effiduase. Esono Gyima Brempong and his successor, Akwamoa Ampong (sometimes called "Mampong" because of his kinship with Asante Mampong royals) Adjei lead one segment to Kwawu after incurring the wrath of their kinsman, Ata Kora, the Mampong chief, by refusing his invitation to help him invade Yeji. Coming to Hwidiem, now in Asante Akyem, and then to Dwerebe hill in Kwawu, the Bretuo-Tena lineages quarrelled with the Agona lineages already at Bokuruwa. The two groups refused to serve each other, both wanting paramountcy and after the ensuing struggle the Bretuo-Tena group was chased cross the Afram Plains. They founded Kwawu Dukoman on the east bank of the Volta River, about 20 kilometers south of Kete Krachi. This may correspond to the second Kwawu on the 1629 Dutch map.

By the end of the sixteenth century, two major and many minor groups of Akan had settled in Kwawu. The Bretuo-Tena clans had been chased to the land just south of Kete Krakye where they founded Dukoman. The Agona clan dominated the Kwawu highlands and sought control of the trade routes north across the Afram and south to the coast via the Volta River. The Agona assumed paramountcy of the first Akan oman in Kwawu. The Asona and Aduana clans of Nkwatia and Pitiko led the left and right divisions of that state, while the Bretuo-Tena clans in Dukoman looked south with covetous eyes on the highland forests of Kwawu.

History: (b) Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The period from 1600 to 1800 in what was then called the Gold Coast was depicted by Ward as a time of "Volkerwanderung" (1958:104). The era was important for Kwawu which, as Fage describes for all the rain forest societies, was built by "successive waves of immigrants" (1961:26).

The trade-loving Akan from the Kwawu escarpment were harassed by the Guan on the Afram plains who held up Akan caravans to the north. In Kwawu, the Aduana clan at Pitiko and the Asona clan at Nkwatia allied with the Agona clan at Bokuruwa, while to the west of the Afram the Aduana clan at Kumawu (kinsmen of Pitiko) under Efa Kae, the Agogo people under Ofori Krobon, and perhaps also the Kwaman people, allied to fight the Guan. After a muddy defeat when a fishing dam collapsed, the Guan leaders and warriors, chased by the Akan, fled to the Volta River where they disappeared or drowned.

It was a pyrrhic victory for the Akan. Efa Kai was killed and Tweneboa Kodia (famous later in the 1702 Asante defeat of Dankyira) succeeded as chief of Kumawu. Esum Sae, the Nifahene of Ataara Firam, was killed at a river now called Esum Sae. In spite of the Bokuruwa victory, the incident was not without disaster; still commemorated by the town. The first half of the Bokuruwa oath (Dwoara na Fiara) was created because two of the Bokuruwa royals died on a Monday (Dwoda = Monday; in Kwawu dialect of Twi, "r" is often substituted for "d") during the skirmish.

The victorious Akan chiefs met at Asanyansa on the Kwawu - Kete Krakye road to divide up the trophies: land, women, and slaves. The Afram was then left unpopulated and unfarmed to become hunting chase for Asante and Kwawu woodsmen. It remained so until the present century.

Meanwhile the Agona clan of Bokuruwa looked south to the coastal trade and found Akwamu in the way. The early part of the eighteenth century was then characterized by numerous clashes between Kwawu led

by Baadu's successor Adom, and the Akwamu led by Akonno. The result of the clash, after early Kwawu victories, was Akwamu domination over Kwawu during the peak of Akwamu power and until Asante rose in power and assisted its allies (the Bretuo-Tena) in obtaining leadership of Kwawu.

Although the Bretuo-Tena leader, Ampon Agyei, may have been kidnapped by Agona clansmen in their early skirmish, his descendants report that he disappeared into a hole in an odade tree, now in a sacred grove used as a mausoleum near Ankaase. Because the three sons of his sister, Ama Buruni, were too young to rule Kwawu Dukoman, the stool of Ampon Agyei was given to his Gyaasehene, Odiawuo, who was to act as regent. The descendants of the two related lineages have disputed over control of the stools ever since. About this time, the Agona clan left Bokuruwa in hopes of conquest in the Volta Region. They clashed with the Krepi, losing four royals on a Friday (Fiara = Friday, the second half of their oath), before founding Kwawu Asabi (Sa = war, bi = some).

Allied with kinsmen from Asante Mampong, and with other Asante, the Bretuo-Tena clan came back to the escarpment from Dukoman to fight Agona slave raiders from Akyem Kotoku and their matrilineal kinsmen from Bokuruwa and Asabi. The Bretuo-Tena were so eager to get back to the rain forest on the scarp that when they reported to Asantehene Opoku Ware, he dubbed them "Kodiabe fo" (go eat palm - people) for their alleged desire for palm soup and palm wine. The name Kodiabe was retained as the mmrane (byname or alternate name) for the Kwawu people, while the forested escarpment where the palm trees grew best was called Kwawu Kodiabe. Thus there emerged three Kwawu regions: (i) Kodiabe on the hills, (ii) Dukoman, renamed Pae (to break off) by the Bretuo-Tena segment who broke off from the main group and stayed, and (iii) Asabi where the Agona people settled after they found they could not return to rule Kwawu from Bokuruwa.

The other Akan in Kwawu submitted to the Bretuo-Tena who set up Diawuo as Omanhene at Abene. Their matrilineal relatives who had left Adanse with them were given important positions in the reorganized oman under the patronage of Asante. Because of the valour of Koranten (called Agyeman for his brave feats) in defeating the Agona clans at Nkwantenan, he was made Adontenhene or chief of the vanguard, and his town, Abetifi, became head of the adonten division. Pepease was made kyidom or rear guard (although kyidom did not become a separate division until the 1920s) in the new oman modelled after Akwamu and Asante. Their affines, of a Dwumina lineage, who also came with them from Adanse to found Aduamoa, were made head of benkum or left division, and ruled the related Asona towns of Nkwatia, Mpraeso, and Kwawu Tafo. What remained was the nifa or right division, which was to be reserved for a number of Aduana lineages; therefore we must examine Obo history.

The first Obo people living on the escarpment in a number of villages were the ancestors of the Obo Ankobeahene. Meanwhile, from Aponamase (near Asante Ejiso), another matriclan moved to the area where the Pra River Station is now located on the southern Kwawu lowlands near the borders of Asante Akyem and Akyem Kotoku.[12] Troubled by slave raids from the Kotoku, this Aduana lineage, led by Kye Amire, moved again to Oboanim under the cliffs and then up to Kyeso (lit. at/on Kye's ...) at the cliff edge. All of the land, from near Pra River Station to Kyeso, now belongs to Obo.

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12. Rattray, when collecting oral traditions and history at Bokuruwa almost half a century ago, recorded the following traditions about Obo:

> They came from Asante Aponomase near Ejisu under Ekye-Amire, an Adafo, Amoakadie (or Amoakare as Kwawus pronounce it). They first went to Bediako Akenten, Aduamoahene who brought them to Badu. Badu allowed Aduamoahene to give them land covered with abobo leaves. The land was very narrow and the saying arose (which was sung in funeral lamentations) "Ekye-Amire a ote tea so,"
>
> (Rattray 1927:3090)

In the meantime, the Bretuo-Tena and their allies had defeated the Nkonya in the Volta Region; but the Bretuo-Tena were not joyous. They had lost the Abetifi chief, Agyeman Koranten, Pepease chief Mumu, and Omanhene Agyeman. Thus originated the Kwawu state oath "asaase aban," because the diaster occurred during the war on a "fence-like" or "castle-like" (aban) hill (asaase = ground).

They returned to the Kwawu escarpment to find the two Aduana clans (at Obobe and Kyeso) harassed by Agona slave raiders from Kotoku. The Aduana asked the Bretuo-Tena to help them chase away the warriors from Akyem Kotoku. Enemies of the Agona for a long time, the Bretuo-Tena agreed.

At the ensuing battle at Odonkoso, Agyeman Nkanto and his Kotoku followers were chased away, to the relief of the Aduana clansmen, who were then willing to serve the Bretuo-Tena.[13] The people from Kyeso united with the people from Obobe (ancestors of the present Obo Ankobeahene) to found a new town at the present site of Obo. The old man, Kye Amire, remained at the cliff-edge (Kyeso) but was consulted on important occasions. In his memory sheep are now slaughtered and libations poured at the almost disappeared midden at Kyeso whenever the elders of Obo take any important decision.

Others arrived. An Amoakade lineage (related to Aduana) came with their stools via Berekum then Hwidiem in Asante Akyem, because of warfare in their homelands. They came under the leadership of Gyamfe Kyaade, a woman from Goaso near the Tano River, formerly on the ancient Sahara - Begho - Elmina route. Reaching Kwawu, they settled near the Kumasi

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13. Boerhaven (1715) cited by Fynn (1971:20) recorded that chiefs Apenten from Akyem Kotoku (i.e., Agona clan) and Ofori from Akyem Abuakwa (i.e., Asona) clan had been leading slave raids on Kwawu. That supports oral history in Obo, which claims such slave raids as the main reason for their forefathers uniting.

highway. Her daughter, Akwasua Beansi, then moved to Obo bringing stool, regalia, and kinsmen. They were trusted by the Bretuo-Tena, who were seeking a leader for the nifa division. Her close relative, Koranten Ampon, coming via Kuntenase and Worawora Amanya with his nephew Okomen Adakwa, became the Obo chief (with Akwasua Beansi as queen mother). Tam Asante, successor to Kye Amire, became Kuruntehene (Kontihene in other Akan dialects) or Mankrado of Obo, and Obo became head of the nifa or right division of the oman ruled by Abene. The nifa division, called Sekyereman, includes the town of Obomen, which is lead by an Ada lineage related to the royals of Pankese in Kotoku. It also includes the towns of Bepon and Asakraka, which are led by Ada lineages related to the royals of Akwamu. Pitiko, the first Aduana settlement, and Sadan, another Aduana town, were also put in the nifa division. Kwawu ideology classes the Aduana group of clans, Amoakade, Ada, Abrade, and Sekyere, all as "brothers." Thus the Akan oman of Kwawu was set up with a nifa, benkum, adonten, and kyidom (right, left, forward, and rear) politico-military structure, under an Omanhene at Abene whose Gyaase or domestic secretary was the Oyoko clan at Atibie.

The ancient Afram trade route which ran (north of the rain forest) from Begho, southeast to the Volta, shifted southwards to a parallel route (within the rain forest) with the change in dominance from Guan to Akan. The rising power of Asante pulled it south through Kumasi, and the Akan in Kwawu Kodiabe pulled the trade route up onto the escarpment. Because it lay on this trade route, Obo developed into a bustling market town attracting merchants and artisans until the twentieth century. Migrants into Obo added to its population and contributed to its development. Social and political complexities arose. Although the important Obo offices of Ohene (chief), Kuruntehene, Akwamuhene, and Ankobeahene, as well as most of the functionaries such as akyeame (linguists) and

akunwasoafo (stool carriers) were members of the Aduana group of clans, a number of other clans came to be represented in the palace court. The Gyaasehene is of an Oyoko lineage related to the royals of Asante Dwaben, the Gyaasewahene is an Asona related to the royals of Kukurantumi (Adonten of Akyem Abuakwa), while the Obo Okyeamehene, another Oyoko, has a stool in Asante Akyem. The Banmuhene of Obo is an Ekuoana. The traditions of the non-Aduana lineages indicate that their ancestors moved or were brought to the busy Obo market town and acquired land, status, and community membership through marriages with the Obo royals. The structural consequences of these will be described in chapter five.

"Asante Kotoko ne Kwawu - Ashanti the Porcupine and Kwawu," beaten on the Kwawu drums indicates the close relationship of the Kwawu oman to the Asante empire. Although Tena clans are banished from Asante, the Kwawu royals are considered to be Bretuo there, and the Abene and Abetifi lineages thrived under Asante, their leaders going to Kumasi annually with the other chiefs for the Odwira (from dware = to bathe) ritual ablutions. Opoku Ware appointed Essen Kagya as "high commissioner" and Dongwa, the bearer of one of the Asantehene's gold-handled swords, as "consul" to Kwawu; they and their matrilineal descendants took up residence in Abetifi. The town of the Adontenhene (Abetifi) rather than that of the Omanhene, Abene, thus became the official meeting place for Asante officials and Kwawu chiefs, later confusing Europeans who thought Abetifi was the capital.

When Asante had trouble with the states of Fante and Dankyira, on the direct route south, they travelled the alternative route through Kwawu on to Akwamu and then the coast, thus bolstering the wealth of the towns on the escarpment. Using the technique of "indirect rule," Opoku Ware established one of his Bata (migrant trade) officials, an akwansrafo (road warden) at Ahenkuru to oversee Kwawu Dukoman (or Pae), south of

Kete Krachi. Kwawu royals exercised rule over Buem and other peoples in the area, on behalf of Asante. Accrosso developed as a market for Dukoman on the Volta, attended by Arabs, Asantes, and Kwawu merchants. Kola was sent to the north from Kwawu, while ivory, slaves, and gold were sent to the south. Slaves came from the north to Kwawu, while salt, fish, beads, cloth, and tools came from the south.

Dissident Kwawu people of the Agona clan who under Baadu's descendant, Adom, had previously antagonized, and later been subjugated by the Akwamu under Akonno around 1710, later in the century, with some Akyem, attempted to ally themselves with Oyo and Dahomey to oppose Asante. During the reign of an alcoholic Asantehene, Kusi Obodum, they tried to extricate themselves from Asante domination (around 1764). The ensuing clash resulted in the death of Dwabenhene Dankwa, and the destoolment of Obodum, but the Agona rebels were subdued and Kwawu remained firmly within the Asante empire which was then further strengthened by Asantehene, Osei Kwadwo. Obo remained loyal to Asante.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thus saw the migration of Akan people to Kwawu, disputes between Agona and Bretuo-Tena for leadership, the fall of the Guan, a brief domination of Kwawu by Akwamu followed by the establishment of Kwawu, led by the Bretuo-Tena, firmly within the Asante empire. They also saw the founding of Obo by Aduana lineages from nearby villages, and the establishment of an Obo chief, from an Amoakade lineage migrating from Brong Ahafo, to head the Aduana people in the nifa division of the Kwawu state. We now turn to the last two centuries.

History: (c) The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The period from 1800 saw the decline of Asante, and an enormous increase of European influence on Obo and Kwawu.

The nineteenth century began with the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, and ended with colonial rule. Slave-trading was abolished by Denmark in 1804, Britain in 1807, and Holland in 1811. This occurred during the reign of Asantehene Osei (Bonsu) Tutu Kwame (1803-1826), who was furious at the threat to such a lucrative trade. In 1824, Dupuis, describing Kwawu as a province of Asante, saw the excesses of human sacrifice resulting from the elimination of unsaleable slaves. Those unfortunate people died in order to become servants to accompany the ancestors of the Asante royals, on their journeys to the land of the dead. Missionaries arriving on the coast in the early part of the nineteenth century were observed by travelling Kwawu merchants long before they penetrated the interior to Kwawu. During the nineteenth century, Dwaben made two migrations between Asante and Akyem Abuakwa because of strained relations between the two Oyoko clans of Dwaben and Kumasi, dating from the 1764 fiasco. Both times Dwaben stopped in Obo, strengthening ties between them, and raising the prestige and status of lineage of the Obo Gyaasehene, their kinsmen, before finally settling at New Dwaben in Koforidua.

From 1869 many events began that were to have far-reaching consequences on Kwawu society and the Obo community. During a war, variously called by Obo informants the Hwemu ("Togo"), Fwea ("Ewe"), or Akom ("hunger") war, fought mainly at Gemi Hill near Amedzophe, the Asante attacked Anum in Akwamu. They captured Swiss Basle Missionary Fritz Ramseyer, his wife and children, and Missionary Kuhne before going on to Ho to capture the French adventurer and trader, J. Bonnat. The Asante captors, Amuni and Boakye, marched their captives with little food via

Kwawu Asabi and the Afram plains up to Kwawu Tafo where the Kwawu people pleaded that they be allowed to rest and be fed by the townspeople. Stopping in Abetifi, they were also well treated before being taken to Kumasi where they spent four years as captives, but preaching their beliefs. The Asante later marched south to Jukwa and Dunkwa and the British joined the Fante to fight them. The "Glover" war (as the British called it) or "Sagranti" (Twi corruption of Sir Garnet Wolseley) war continued to 1874 when the captives were released by the Asante shortly before the British entered and burned Kumasi: a treaty was signed at Fomena on 16 March 1874. Akyem Abuakwa was declared a British colony and by abolishing domestic slavery the British all but destroyed the traditional political system. After raising interest and money in Europe with the help of Glover, Ramseyer and some colleagues returned to West Africa and, unable to re-enter Asante, built a mission at Abetifi on the "frontier" to Asante, almost choosing Obo as the site.

Kwawu merchants resented Asante state controls on their trade and saw profits to be made in trading with the British. The chiefs and elders at Abetifi and Abene listened to the pleas and arguments of the merchants. The Omanhene, seeing the military strength of the British and the shambles of the Asante empire after 1874, and being pragmatic, declared independence from Asante and began sending petitions and delegations to the coast requesting British protection. They went unheeded for fourteen years. Antwi Akomea, descendant of Essen Kagya and reputed to be a very tactful settler of disputes as the "high commissioner" in Kwawu for Asante, was murdered along with a number of his party, including Koranten, one of the chief Kumasi captains. Of the group, only the sword bearer, Okaraprem, descendant of Dongwa, was spared, because he was Kotoku by origin. His sword, however, was confiscated by the Okyenhene (chief of Akyem Abuakwa) Amoako Atta. Colonial Governor Freeling

requested Abetifi Basle Missionary Werner and his colleagues to act as informers and agents of the British, which the Swiss, including Ramseyer, did very effectively. Protected by Kwawu hospitality, the Basle mission grew rapidly in size and influence. David Asante, an Akwapem missionary, explored the Afram and hiked to Salaga, while Basle catechists and teachers went all over Kwawu making numerous conversions. They met resistance in a few places but not so strongly as in Obo.

In 1879, led by priests who claimed to be reincarnations of the early Asante kings and priests, a rebellious religious sect developed in Asante (perhaps as an attempt to regain some lost Asante glory). A delegation which was politely received in Obo was turned back by the chief of Abetifi and Abene, who feared a revival of Asante domination. The group was suppressed and its leaders killed by Asantehene Mensah Bonsu, whom they had hoped to overthrow.

The Basle mission sent Afwirem, the first catechist to Obo, but after a case involving an okomfo who was found guilty of putting spells on him, Afwirem returned home to Akwapem in a state of nervous and physical exhaustion. Ramseyer too met frustrations in Obo when he tried to renegotiate land he thought he had bought in Obo from the Akwasiho chief. Ramseyer also had difficulty with the chief of adjacent Twinedurase (which whole town later moved a mile away after a dispute with Obo). That was because the mission land, although belonging to Obo, was too close to Sasabo, Twinedurase's sacred rock. A number of incidents, too numerous to document here (cf. Jenkins 1971), were among attempts of Obo royals to frustrate Basle mission activities, as the Obo chief, Nana Kwasi Asiama, rightly lumped the Swiss, British, and Abene royals into one anti-Asante faction.

After the 1884 German occupation of Togo had signalled the European "Scramble for Africa," the British reconsidered the Kwawu pleas for

protection. On 5 May 1888, J. Spilsbury Smith, a Sierra Leonean doctor and D.C. for Begoro, who was in Kwawu on behalf of Governor William Brandford Griffith, signed a "Treaty of Friendship and Protection," with the Kwawu chiefs. The Obo chief, Nana Kwasi Asiama, surprised everyone by attending the Abetifi meeting; nevertheless after a few attempts to delay or abort the proceedings, he also signed the treaty. Human sacrifice was forbidden in one of the clauses, but because of the 1874 political disaster in Akyem Abuakwa (Asante 1875, McSheffrey 1975), where the state almost collapsed due to the rapid abolition of the institution, no mention of slavery was made in the Kwawu treaty. British officials (especially Assistant Colonial Secretary, C.O. Turton) visiting Kwawu found numerous slaves in Obo, yet observed that they were well treated and recommended gradual abolition (Turton 1891, Phillips 1893, Hull 1898). Since the 1888 treaty was one of friendship and protection, the oman of Kwawu was not obligated to adopt the laws of Britain and its empire.

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw Kwawu come within the British empire. Numerous internal disputes and conflicts, which prior to that were kept within Kwawu, found their way to the British administrators. Kwawu migrant traders thrived in the free trade climate to the south. They began trading in the cocoa towns that appeared shortly after the great cocoa migration from Akwapem (see Hill 1963:1) spread into the Akyem rain forest. Obohene Nana Asiama did not increase his love for the Swiss, the English, or their Bretuo-Tena puppets (as he must have seen them). In Obo he threatened to pawn the children of one recently converted Obo Christian, Wiafe, for attempting to join the Mpraeso congregation. Tensions between the Aduana clan at Obo and the Bretuo clan at Twinedurase increased. They eventually led to the whole

town of Twinedurase moving from its original site immediately adjacent to Obo, to a new site two kilometers away where it is at present.

In 1893 Nana Asiama died. Sheriff Phillips arrived a few days later in order to settle disputes and disturbances, including rebelliousness of the Obo and Aduamoa people. Phillips included himself in the process of choosing a new Obo chief. Perhaps he understood the word election (by king makers) in an English sense, for he organized an election of a new Obo chief (who later abdicated under pressure) by secret ballot among the Obo elders. The last decade also saw the establishment of a resident Basle catechist and a school in Obo. Important to this study of migration, the most common difficulty encountered by the missionaries was that Obo adults were frequently away from Obo for long periods, either trading rubber or on their farms in the southern lowlands.

Slavery was still legal in Kwawu until 1896 when, without further consultation with Kwawu chiefs or commoners, the British brought Kwawu under the jurisdiction of the Gold Coast Colony by a British Order in Council (20 October 1896) proclaiming the "Krepi-Kwahu District" (Bening 1974:72, Gold Coast Gazette 1896). From that time the practice of domestic slavery slowly diminished or was converted to more covert but legal institutions: fostering and apprenticing. On 14 July 1897 the Volta River District of the Gold Coast Colony was redefined (Order in Council 199) to exclude Kwawu and Eastern Akyem (i.e., Abuakwa). The latter two were then made into a single district, Birim (Bening 1974:73), named after a river which rises in Akyem. The end of the nineteenth century thus saw Obo (with mixed feelings) firmly within the British empire, and its migrants trading and farming (within and outside of Kwawu) throughout the colony.

The Yaa Asantewa War, the last conflict between the Asante and the British, ushered in the twentieth century. Kwawu merchants took advantage of war-induced price differentials: smuggling salt, provisions, and gunpowder to Asante. A quarter century earlier they had done the same thing (in the Sagrenti War), but by 1900 they were on the British side. At least the oman of Kwawu was, but pro-Asante sentiment in Obo continued to put a strain on the tenuous union between the oman under the Bretuo at Abene and its nifa division under the Aduana at Obo. Tensions which had been building up during the previous century continued to the present one, and the Obo-Abene conflict remains a feature of Kwawu today.

From the beginning of colonial rule, Kwawu experienced the effects of considerable technological change. Formal education, which had been introduced by the Swiss missionaries and belatedly supported by British administration, expanded tremendously after independence in 1957. After forty years of assistance to the British, the Swiss missionaries were then deported during the First World War because the British suspected them of pro-German sympathies. The Basle congregations in Kwawu were then all converted to Presbyterian, with the aid of the Scottish Mission. The clearing of roads which was the early colonial officials' main concern (for politico-military as well as economic purposes) drastically changed the economic geography of Kwawu. The Afram River route was given some early support by the British and newly introduced cocoa was carried from the canoe port of Kwawu Mankrong. That method of transport later declined with the coming of the railway through the southern lowlands under the shadow of the escarpment. Until then Obo was a populous entrepot because it was on the main trade route between Kumasi and Accra. It had begun to decline in population with the growth of the cocoa towns, south of Kwawu. The size of Obo was then drastically reduced when

Nkawkaw was built in 1923 to serve Kwawu as a commercial centre on the newly completed railway line. Nkawkaw has now replaced Obo as the most important stop north of Koforidua on the Accra - Kumasi route.

Political changes occurred also. The British set up an administrative centre with a district colonial officer in the cool climate on the escarpment at Mpraeso. "Young men" (or commoners), once an integral social element of the Akan politico-military system, were ignored when the British policy of indirect rule gave the chiefs and elders more support than tradition had permitted. Disgruntled "young men" formed into militant Asafo-Kyenko groups, patterned on war groups of the past, and extant even now in Fante communities at the coast. These groups frequently came into conflict with the British-supported chiefs during the first half of the century, until the growth of the Convention People's Party redirected their energies into the independence movement.

With the spread of cocoa and the growth of commercial cocoa towns (at first in the southern part of the country), Obo people moved in increasingly large numbers to the new centres to trade, yet visiting Obo for festivals and funerals. With the decline in Odwira, Afahye, and other traditional rites, Easter became the annual festival bringing back Kwawu people to Kodiabe at the beginning of each rainy season. Migrant elders, and people who did business with them, continued to return to the hometown every six weeks for the Akwasidae or sacred Sunday rites, while cherishing the ultimate objectives of building fine hometown houses in which eventually to retire. Kwawu traders occasionally incurred the envy and wrath of autochthones in Akwapem and Akyem Abuakwa because they sent their profits home rather than assisting in the development of the host communities by building there. After World War Two, Accra became the major host location for Kwawu artisans and traders, although they are to be found in commercial centres in every district of

Ghana and most neighbouring countries. The pattern of temporary migration, maintenance of hometown ties, conjugal living arrangements while away, matrilineal interaction patterns while in the hometown, and a total dispersed interpenetrating community, adapted and developed within a number of political, economic, technological, and social changes will be documented in later chapters. The essence of that pattern has nevertheless remained a continuous line throughout Obo history.

This completes the historical sketch of Obo and Kwawu. To give further background information, we now try to answer the question, "What is the size of the population?" It comes as no surprise to find that the answer is complicated by cyclical migration and problems of determining who and where are Obo (and other Kwawu) people.

The Population of Obo and Kwawu

The town of Obo is known to have undergone a number of fluctuations in population during the period for which estimates are available. It grew large by attracting adventive migrant traders when it was situated on the major routes to Kumasi, to the coast, and to the north. It later declined after the introduction of cocoa, the railway, and the new town of Nkawkaw, built for the railway down on the southern lowlands. (The resultant age structures are shown in diagram IV:b). Census data (tables II:a, b) show a slow subsequent increase for the resident population but the size of the total dispersed community is more difficult to estimate.

One of the first missionaries to come to Kwawu wrote that Obo in 1875 was, "... the biggest town in Kwahu with several thousand inhabitants," (Werner 1875:May 6, Jenkins 1970:53). Later a visiting missionary was to exclaim that Obo was the largest town he had seen in the interior of Africa (Dieterle 1879:April 4, Jenkins op. cit.). Ramseyer, writing from Abetifi in 1880, estimated the Obo population to be 5,000

to 6,000 inhabitants, remarking the Obo, therefore, "... would make a fine field for mission work in itself," (Ramseyer 1881, Jenkins op. cit.), not yet aware of the resistance and opposition in Obo that the Basle mission was later to meet.

After Kwawu became a protectorate, British administrators who came to Kwawu agreed with the Swiss that Obo was large. Before the turn of the century, a travelling commissioner wrote, "Obo is a very large place containing 4,000 to 6,000 inhabitants," (Hull 1898:A.D.M. 11/1145). In 1907 Francis Crowther, describing Obo as "... the largest town in the interior of this province," estimated Obo and the rest of nifa division of Kwawu as having a population of 20,000 persons (Crowther 1907:April 4, A.D.M. 11/1145). When the then young surveyor, Guggisberg, and his wife entered Kwawu the following year they concurred with the 1911 census estimate of 1901 population, that Obo had over 9,000 inhabitants (Moore and Guggisberg 1909:312). The 1911 census of the Gold Coast and Ashanti placed Obo (population 10,158) as the fourth largest town, at only half the size of Accra or Kumasi and only 1,100 persons fewer than in Cape Coast. In the age range of 15 to 45, the 1911 census was the only one of Obo in which men outnumbered women (table II:a), an indication of migration into the community, which did not continue after second decade (tables II:a, b). These documented observations, together with Obo oral traditions, support the notion that Obo was a bustling, populous market town on an important trade route until the early part of the twentieth century.

By the second decade of this century, the census estimates showed a decline in Obo population which may have begun with a movement out onto the lowland farms encouraged by British "protection" from 1888. Migrants also went out to trade in the new commercial towns, then the construction of the railway began and was completed in 1923, when Nkawkaw was built on

the site of a hunter's hamlet. Because of these changes, Obo's lowest recorded population, under 2,000, was in 1931, after which it slowly increased, but not to rival the big towns, again. See tables II:a, b. Nkawkaw population in contrast, grew from a few hunters, before 1923, to over three and a half thousand people in 1948 (table II:d), and to over fifteen thousand in 1960. Between 1911 and 1921, many new satellite villages were founded among the older ones on the Obo lowlands as cocoa farming reached Kwawu. The growing commercial towns also attracted Obo migrants who often went first as artisans and saved their money for trading when they later moved to new markets.

One such migrant was Kwasi Nyarko, who was able to build a store at the river port of Mankrong, on the north side of the escarpment, where cocoa was head-loaded for transport by canoe down the Afram and Volta River to Akuse. Cocoa factories (warehouses) were built by a commercial firm (Millers) and by the Basle mission, and the Afram route enjoyed a brief patronage under the British before the railway was built on the south side of the escarpment. Nyarko was enstooled as Obohene in 1919, just before the Afram route declined, and with his wealth earned as a trader he built a two-storey addition to the palace, cemented the palace floor, embedding cowrie shells in it to symbolize the wealth of Obo, and built his private two-storey house next door.

Oldtimers recall that Ohene Nyarko used to stroll informally about Obo, greeting people; when he met any young men he would challenge them to leave Obo as he had, and to return when they had something to offer. Apparently the challenge was accepted. They left an untidy jumble of swish houses, described by Decima Moore in 1908 as a rabbit warren (Moore and Guggisberg 1909:283), and came back to build large houses, making Obo now one of the finest-looking towns in the country. Some of the large cement mansions now on the Obo main road date back to the

1930s and 1940s. Obohene Nyarko died in 1948 having witnessed a remarkable change in the architecture, if not the social structure, of Obo.

It is difficult to determine the distribution of the population of the Obo dispersed community prior to the study made in 1973. The distribution of Kwawu in 1948 (see tables II:d, e, f) and in 1960 (see tables II:g, h), however, is illustrative. In 1960 most of the 131,970 Kwawu enumerated in Ghana were located in the two census areas of "South Kwahu" and "North Kwahu" which included the Afram. Away from the home district the largest number was found in Accra. Within the Eastern Region the distribution of Kwawu reflected their propensity to migrate to the commercial cocoa towns to trade, and to nearby rural areas to farm. In the Ashanti Region the largest number were found in adjacent Asante Akyem, reflecting the close historical ties that Kwawu has with that area. Kumasi also attracts a large number of Kwawu among whom Obo people must be included because the Obohene and a number of other Obo people own large rent-producing houses in Kumasi.

The Kwawu were later than the Krobo and Akwapem in joining the cocoa rush (cf. Hill 1963:15), but are rapidly taking advantage of historical kin ties and buying land in parts of Brong Ahafo and Ashanti Regions. The Volta Region, on the other hand, is not an area to which Kwawu migrate in great numbers, although Fiawoo (1961:54) noted eight in his study of Tefle, a small Ewe community near the former ferry across the Volta. At least a few Kwawu have moved to every centre in Ghana where some trade can be pursued. Within the Volta Region the historical connections and proximity of the Krakye and Kpandu districts are reflected by a greater concentration of Kwawu. Other parts of the Volta Region, as well as the Northern and Upper Regions attract very few Kwawu.

I have demonstrated elsewhere (Bartle 1971, 1973) that the important factors influencing these differential rates of migration include

distance, urbanism, and historico-cultural ties. Those factors, however, do not account for all variations in migration. Although Kwawu migrate mostly to nearby farming areas (especially those within their own district), to the southern cocoa towns, and to Accra, they also have migrated longer distances to those rural areas of Brong Ahafo, mentioned above, in order to open up cheap, relatively unexploited farmlands for cocoa. As table II:c demonstrates, however, net migration has been more or less away from the Eastern Region and towards Accra during the 1960-70 decade. This is continuation of a trend which substantially began for Obo people during World War Two (Garlick 1967:473). Mere examination of age composition in host communities might lead less informed observers to conclude that a greater proportion of urban growth is a result of natural increase than a result of urban migration (better medical facilities, piped water, and similar public health factors usually being cited), a conclusion more apparent than real. Many children born or living in Accra are there as a result of migration because it is during their mothers' fertile years, the working years, that those mothers are in migrant stages of their life cycles. Many of those urban children were born in their rural hometowns or in their grandmothers' villages, to which the mothers went briefly to give birth before returning to the cities. The post-war movement to Accra is somewhat disguised by the cyclical nature of individual migration patterns, and is thus less easily quantified than one-way migration.

The arbitrary demographic technique of distinguishing between rural and urban at the population size of 5,000 is incompatible with the cyclical migration pattern described here. Obo and many other hometowns are often between 4,000 and 6,000 population. Migration tends to be to host locations which are either more urban or more rural, but which often share social features in common with each other more than with the

medium-sized hometowns. The 1970 census of Ghana defined the resident population of Obo as consisting of the number of people (5,328) who slept in Obo on census night, whether residents or visitors, or whether Obo people or strangers (table II:b). Many Obo people, particularly from Kwawu Praso (a rapidly growing Obo satellite village that showed an unexpectedly small increase in population from the 1960 census to the 1970 census) recall complying with the request of Obohene Kofi Bediako to return to Obo for census night so that Obo could reach town status at the 5,000 level.

In 1973, as noted above, I made an attempt to estimate the population of the total Obo dispersed community. A one-quarter sample of all residential buildings was systematically selected and visited. If residents were found in a selected house it was possible to record the number of people usually sleeping there as well as the number of Obo persons who had migrated but had made return visits within the previous five years. It was more difficult to get information about houses not habitually occupied so only 15% of the usually vacant houses were surveyed when migrants returned, as for funerals. Using the household composition schedule as a means to conduct the census, it was calculated that the ordinarily resident population of Obo was only 4,633. Another 11,728 migrants from Obo had slept in Obo within the previous five years, of which 3,214 were usually resident in Accra. The total dispersed Obo community was therefore estimated at 16,350 persons, or 3.54 times the regularly resident Obo population. That estimte did not include those migrants who also thought of themselves as Obofo (Obo people) planning to visit Obo in the future (mostly young adults who could not yet afford to visit Obo), and those migrants who did return to Obo for visits but slept in nearby Kwawu towns. I am acquainted with a number of people in these

latter two categories so this population estimate of the total interpenetrating dispersed Obo community must be seen as conservative.

Tables II:i and II:j show the distribution of Obo migrants who visited the houses surveyed in Obo within the five years prior to the 1973 survey. The distribution proportion is not significantly different from those of the 1960 census distribution of all Kwawu discussed above. The overall demographic picture, then, is of a number of Kwawu people resident in the central nuclear towns like Obo, and a number of temporary Kwawu migrants resident in satellite villages within the Kwawu district, in rural areas elsewhere in the rain forest, in small commercial centres throughout Ghana, and of course in Accra.

We turn now to further geographical-demographical features of Obo, and examine the spatial arrangements within the town, and what parts different people live in.

Neighbourhoods

The town plan of Obo; i.e., its physical layout, reflects the social organization of the dispersed community. Because migrations in and out of Obo are closely related to its layout, I will describe it briefly and, where possible, show how its development was a consequence of migration and social change.

After the people of Kyeso decided to unite with the people of Obobe, and relocate in a col at the present site of Obo, Gyamfe Kyaade and her followers built a palace at Ohantrase,[14] which is now the cultural centre of the town. See diagram II:g. From that central point, Kyaade's lineage took a segment of land northeast and downhill. The Obobe people

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14. Literally ase (under) the Ohantra (a type of tree). The tree is a descendant of one planted by the newly confederated elders of the Aduana matrilineages from Obobe and Kyeso. It is decorated with swords and medicine and stands on the west edge of the open area resembling a military parade square where important public fetes and funerals are held.

(now the lineage of the Obo Ankobeahene) took another segment downhill to the south starting from where the post office is located across the main road from Ohantrase. The Kyeso people (now the lineage of the Obo Kuruntehene) built westwards on a segment uphill towards Twinedurase. Later groups such as the Ekuona and Oyoko (now lineages of the Banmuhene and Gyaasehene) built to the northeast of Ohantrase, and the Asona (now lineage of Gyaasewahene) to the north of them. Each segment expanded outwards from Ohantrase as new migrant groups moved in and, seeking patronage, attached themselves to a group of earlier settlers. The neighbourhoods were loosely termed "brong" (pronounced "boono" or "brono" in Obo), meaning suburb or outskirts, but were not formally organized like the patrilineal brongs of Larteh as described by Brokensha (op. cit.). Thus an indefinite but large number of wedge-shaped brongs developed all around the central Ohantrase. Names of a few of these, such as Pampaso or Asamanya, survive as names of administrative (house-numbering) areas of Obo, but most of the names and locales of the old brongs are now forgotten. See map II:h.

Up the hill to the west, where the land bordered with Twinedurase, the Pampaso area grew. The Sasabo hill to the north is sacred, and Pampaso is still the residential neighbourhood for the majority of Obo people possessed by tutelary spirits. Ramseyer (1887) wrote of considerable difficulties faced by the Basle mission when he tried to build too close to Sasabo; they later had to buy more land northeast of their original purchase. On the top of the ridge, at the edge of Twinedurase town, a boundary dispute with Obo developed in the late nineteenth century. Twinedurase lost the dispute and its people laid out a new town site at its present location a mile away to the west. The commercial school, which appears to be on Obo land on the western edge of Pampaso, is sited on Twinedurase land. New house construction has not been

undertaken on the west side of town because it is difficult to build on Sasabo hill and because of the boundary with Twinedurase on the ridge.

When the Basle missionaries purchased land on the hill to the north of the town, east of the sacred cave on the north hill, they encouraged new converts to move into the Christian quarter. The neighbourhood soon became known as Baseremu (Basere = Basle, mu = in) comparable to "Obruni Krum" of Kibi (McSheffrey 1975) or "Salem" of other southern towns.

There is religious heterogeneity in Obo, although there is also some tendency for clustering. At one time there was a curfew for Baseremu residents; they were required to return by six o'clock every evening and not go into the main part of town. The objective was to protect the newly converted Christians from "heathen temptation." At present many Presbyterians live in the Baseremu area. The curfew no longer exists and because of matrilineal inheritance and new house construction the area is not exclusively Presbyterian. The Okyeamehene (chief linguist) also lives in Baseremu whenever he comes home for funerals and Akwasidae, although his black stools, black linguist stick, and related religious objects are kept in an older part of town. As a traditional politico-religious leader he cannot be thought of as a Christian, yet his house is in Baseremu. Thus the Baseremu is not exclusive to Presbyterians in particular, or to Christians in general.

In another area, the southwest, there is some Anglican clustering. When the Anglican church was introduced, it was supported mainly by the Tano priestess. Land in what is now the Asamenya brong was set aside for the church, and later for the Anglican primary school and for the Anglican boys middle school. The area, on the south side of the road to Twinedurase, it sometimes known as "Chach" (church), although it is not entirely populated by Anglicans.

II:i

ADMINISTRATIVE BRONGS OF OBO

O.H. Ohantrase In the traditional centre of town. It includes the palace and the real Ohantrase: the public square where ceremonies are performed, under the Ohantra tree. The neighbourhood is still very congested. Many of the old swish houses have been replaced by cement ones.

P.S. Pampaso Up the northwest hill towards Twinedurase, north of the main lorry road. It is where most of the akomfo (priests and priestesses) are located. It is the steepest and highest "brong" and is quite congested, having few new buildings.

A.S. Asamenya The largest in population. It is on the south side of the main lorry road, from "Station," past the post office west towards Twinedurase. It includes "Katanga" (the secondary school boys dorm), and "Chach" (Anglican church and schools).

B.O. Bronoso North of the centre of town, the largest in area. It includes the "Baseremu" (Basle mission quarter) and part of "Faith," the Presbyterian chapel, primary school, and Presby B. middle school.

B.G. Begoro On the south side of the main road, from "Station" down to the east and around the corner on the Obomen road. It includes what used to be the pig farm and the zongo. Prince Villa is also located there.

N.T. New Town Northeast of town, mainly cement houses, including Sikafo-amantem. It extends around the corner, thus including the Anglican Girls middle school, the Catholic church and school, and the Methodist primary school, on the road to Obomen.

During the nineteenth century, when Obo flourished as a commercial centre on the trade route between Akyem and Asante, a stranger's quarter, or "zongo," developed outside the town, one kilometer down the hill to the east on the path to Obomen. The former pig farm between Obo and its zongo, and downhill to the south, supplied the huge immigrant Obo population with meat. A number of cement two-storey houses were built during the 1930s and 1940s southeast and down the hill from "Station," and the area known as Begoro grew up in the place of the disappearing pig farm. Pigs were no longer profitable business as Obo changed from a commercial host community into a dormitory donor community. Both Tigare and Muslem adherents prohibit the consumption of pork. Begoro has come to be known as the residential area of the older, more established returned migrants who traded in cocoa towns.

During the colonial period there was an attempt to divide Obo arbitrarily into administrative "brongs," having no political content; merely as a means of house-numbering. Only a few weatherbeaten doors, with the old house numbers on them, remain as evidence of the old system. After independence, the present house-numbering system, having six brongs, was devised. In the meantime, more sociologically significant neighbourhoods developed, which should be examined first. They include "Station," "Faith," and "Sikafoambantem."

A breakaway sect of the Seventh Day Adventists, known as Memenada Gyidifo (Saturday Faith People) was founded by a former Seventh Day Adventist man who did not subscribe to all the strict taboos of the orthodox sect, most notably monogamy. The Memenada Gyidifo built a church and began building their houses, on the north side of Obo east of Baseremu. The neighbourhood, located on a small hill near the Presby B. middle school, came to be known as "Faith."

With the growth of the Tigare witch-hunting cult in the 1940s, the wealthy Tigare priest built a big house on the main lorry road in an area which came to be known as "Station." There is no designated Obo lorry park, but the "Station" is located where the road from Baseremu meets the main road, where most lorry passengers are picked up. In the evenings, although there is little transport business, the "Station" area is very busy. People come out for a breath of fresh air before retiring, or to buy some refreshments from the numerous sellers in the area: kenkey, bread, fried fish, or tea. "Station" is also the locale of "Prince Bar" on the north corner, patronized by beer-drinking urban migrants on home visits, whereas an older but equally well patronized bar on the south side of the main street is favoured by rural migrants (the two bars are not mutually exclusive in their clientele). "Station" is the gathering place where old men sit in the shade of eaves of the Tigare priest's house during the day to play draughts or oware, where the bread and kenkey sellers sit at night with their kerosene lamps, where the children come out to play after supper, and where bachelors and young women congregate to gossip and meet friends after dark. During Akwasidae, funerals, and especially Easter, "Station" is a very lively place in the evenings.

Further east of "Faith," on the northeast side of town, an important neighbourhood later developed. With roads laid out in a grid-like fashion, and more carefully planned than any other part of Obo, it developed into the wealthy quarter. It was called New Town by the local council administration and the house numbers reflect this, but to the majority of the people it is known as Sikafoamantem (the money/wealth people did not come early/quickly). On the south side of the main road, in the same general location, more ostentatious houses were and are being built. The area which once boasted merely a few swish houses,

collectively known as the zongo, is now the wealthiest suburb of the town. Because most of the owners of these big houses, and their families, are traders in Accra or the commercial towns, there is a tendency for the houses to be empty, unless the owners commute for weekends. All the northerners who once formed the zongo population are now dispersed. Most traders left when Obo changed from a host to a donor community. The town labourers, nightsoil carriers, watchmen and grave-diggers and their families however still reside in Obo with no zongo in which to live. They stay in the back rooms and the boys quarters of the new large mansions. They pay no rent in return for night watching, and a minimum of caretaking, for grateful owners.

This completes a sketch of the various neighbourhoods of Obo, their social significance, and their importance to migration. We now turn to the final geographical, historical, and demographical background information. Earlier in this chapter a "hometown-satellite" model was described. Satellite villages are important in the dynamics of cyclical migration and the extended community. Obo has numerous satellites and, although they cannot all be described (for they differ considerably), some general statements about their similarities and differences, their relationships to Obo and each other, and their role in Obo migration, can be offered here.

Obo Villages

The most important host locations that attract Obo migrants are the villages on the lowlands south and west of Obo. See map II:d. They are not as close to Obo as the nearby central Kwawu towns on the escarpment but sociologically they are most important to the dispersed Obo community, attracting the largest number of migrants from Obo.

These lowland villages lie on two separated parcels of land belonging to the town of Obo, one to the south and one to the west. The

southern villages are on land formerly settled by the lineage of Kye (founder of Kyeso) who were the ancestors of the Obo Kuruntehene. The southern Obo land is bounded on the south by Akyem Kotoku, on the east by Obomen lowlands, and on the west partly by Twinedurase land and partly by the Ashanti Region. The southern parcel of land is continuous up the cliffs to the townsite of Obo and continues west on Obo Ankobeahene land to the ancient ruins of Obobe north of Mpraeso, where it borders with land belonging to Aduamoa, Nkwatia, Bepon, Mpraeso, and Obomen. In the Kwawu western lowlands is located another parcel of Obo land which was purchased by Obohene Nana Kwasi Asiama, from Asankare in Asante Akyem, during the nineteenth century. The western exclave of Obo land is separate from Obo and from the southern Obo land, and borders on Kwawu land belonging to Aduamoa, Twinedurase, Abetifi, Abene, and Akwasiho. To the west of the western Obo exclave is land belonging to towns in Asante Akyem in the Ashanti Region.

The most important village in the western embayment (cf. Ofori 1964 and table II:k, re the use of this term) of Kwawu, is Kwawu Praso (on the Pra River). It has three chiefs because it combines three villages. One has an odikro (headman) under Obo, another has an odikro under Twinedurase, and the third, on the western bank of the Pra River, belongs to Asante Akyem. Lands ruled by all three meet at the site of Kwawu Praso. Other Obo villages are more clearly distinguished from satellites of other towns.

The exact number of hamlets and villages on the two parcels of Obo land is difficult to determine. The census does not distinguish the hometowns of Kwawu villages. Many are small and hidden, some are grouped with others as a single village, and all are changing in population because of shifting migration patterns. Many disappear as a result. The Obohene and his elders usually categorically state that there are

105 villages on Obo lands. I visited many of the villages but in no way saw them all. Villages from which Obo migrants have come to visit the houses in Obo which I surveyed in 1973 are listed in table II:j, which distinguishes western from southern villages. Other Obo villages, including some described in the appendix, do not appear on the table, only because Obo people from them did not sleep in the houses sampled for the survey; I recognized many friends and acquaintances from Obo in all of the villages I visited.

It is commonly believed that Kwawu preferred to live only in dense nucleated settlements, in contrast to their more adventurous Akan neighbours who were less afraid of living in more isolated and therefore more vulnerable villages. This belief was noted by Moore and Guggisberg: ("... for the Kwahus, unlike the Ashantis and the more southern tribes of the colony, seem to prefer living in large towns," op. cit. p. 281), and cited by Bleek (1974) and by the Kwawu geographer, Ofori (1965:4). I hope to demonstrate that this was not entirely the case. Villages belonging to Obo had certain characteristics which might result in observers coming to that conclusion. They tended to be very small and were often built a distance from the trade routes so as to avoid attracting the attention of any travellers who potentially might be slave raiders. Hamlets were often temporarily occupied for only one or a few years, after which the huts were left to deteriorate. Unlike more permanent Obo houses, the village huts were plastered wooden structures, built with relatively little effort in the old Guan method. They did not last as long as those built of clay bricks. Another feature of these satellite settlements that contributed to their short durations was the union of two or more nearby villages, in a manner similar to the union of Obobe and Kyeso to form the town of Obo. The isolation, small size, and temporary nature of Obo villages accounted for their

escaping the notice of early travellers. Fear of slave attacks reinforced the desire of Obo people to be unobserved by those travellers. Thus observers thought Kwawu people lived only in the populous towns rather than in satellite villages.

The rapid rise and decline of small Akan villages was demonstrated to Ramseyer in 1881. On an expedition en route to Kumasi, he arrived at Agogo on 27 August. He recalled that in 1869, when he and his party were captives of the Asante, his son Fritz had died and was buried at Totorase, a small village close to Asokore, near Agogo. Twelve years later Ramseyer could not find the burial place of his son because the village, Totorase, no longer existed (Mohr 1881:September 28, Jenkins 1970:150). In the Kwawu southern lowlands, Ramseyer discovered that villages could exist without much attention being paid to them. In 1882 he took a route back from Asante Akyem on which he had not walked before. After living in Kwawu for five years, Ramseyer discovered 15 to 20 Kwawu farming villages of which he had no previous intimation (Ramseyer 1883, Jenkins 1970:158). This was confirmed by his nephew, Perregaux, who wrote that the villages at the foot of the scarp were more numerous than the missionaries first thought. "The paths between them had many ways of crossing each other." Although the Swiss had not explored all footpaths and did not know where the villages were, they planned to put a catechist at Ntawadua, one of the newly discovered villages on Obo land (Perregaux 1893:June 19, Jenkins 1970:300).

Frequently, whole villages would move en masse. The people of Mpesuaso all moved to Awenadi. The old site of Fwidiem (Hwediem) is abandoned because everyone moved to the new site on the Accra - Kumasi highway. Kwasi Baa, the wofa (see chapter five) of the Obohene, is the odikro of Fwidiem. The old site of Subrichi is on the road to Odumesua from Edoradan, 2 km. away from the present Subrichi. Metemanu, Mampong,

old Yirekyimadu, Dome, Nyankroma, Sebewie, all on the map I used, no longer exist on the ground. In the western Obo lands, the same applies to Kofi Brako Krom, Kofi Osei Krom, Kwaku Kru Krom, Kwame Dei, Agyekum Akuraa, Nyrankroa, Sebetw, Yaw Kra Krom (near Brenadi) and Bonyakrom. These few examples of villages on the map but not on the land illustrate their temporary nature.

In spite of all the remarks by missionaries about the large size of Obo, they had considerable difficulty in establishing a Christian congregation because of the length of time Obo people spent away from the town. In the annual report for 1897, Ramseyer complained that things were not "progressing" in Obo because the greater number of Obo people spent ten months of the year on their farms at the foot of the scarp, coming in large numbers to Obo only during the adae festival (Ramseyer 1888:February 13, Jenkins 1970:244-5). Two years later he complained about the "almost nomadic" life that the Obo people led as a result of their visits to farms at the foot of the escarpment (Ramseyer 1890:II, 86, Jenkins 1970:260-1). Ramseyer's evangelical troubles with Obo are discussed in more detail elsewhere, but important here is the evidence of rural satellites on the southern lowlands before Kwawu became a British protectorate.

The temporary nature of these villages can be demonstrated by an examination of census data. Villages rose and fell in population. Many villages enumerated in earlier years are not recorded again in later years. One might suspect that this might be because of a lack of clerical thoroughness, or a result of changes in village names (a common occurrence), but the temporary nature of these villages can account for most disappearances. A more dramatic demonstration to substantiate the observation would be a visit to the area. Armed with a colonial survey map and a little motor scooter, I toured many parts of Obo land,

searching for deserted villages, usually with elders whom I had met when participating in the Akwesidae rites in Obo. They would tell me the stories of the missing villages.

The rise and fall of Obo satellite villages are related to the social and historical changes of other settlements within and outside Kwawu. Aponaponaso and Ada, close to Obomen land near Nkawkaw, are both deserted, the villagers having moved to Kwaman. Kwadwo Adade is still the odikro (headman) of the no longer existing village of Ada. Oboanim, under the cliffs, is deserted, some of the villagers having gone to Kwaman, some having gone to Amanfrom on Obomen land. Dadiasi no longer exists because the villagers all moved to Danteng. Danteng belongs to Asante Dwaben people (of the Oyoko clan) who had stayed in Obo during their conflicts with Kumasi and at various stages in their subsequent migrations back and forth between old Dwaben in Asante and new Dwaben near Koforidua. As a result of their connections with Obo, the post of Obo Gyaasehene was given to a member of the Dwaben Oyoko lineage, and lands set aside for them to settle and build the village of Danten.

The villages and hamlets are quite varied. They differ in population size, in length of establishment, in degree of occupational differentiation, in amount of social, educational, and religious services provided, and in ethnic heterogeneity of population. All show wide variations in population over time. Some, quite recently founded, have grown rapidly. Others have disappeared entirely or have all but disappeared; changing from a thriving population centre to an outpost where one or two people manage the stool lands of the owner. Some owe their origin to the union of two or more older villages, a process that appears to have been common in the past. They also vary in technology. Houses, which are usually roofed with iron sheets, are occasionally roofed with wooden shingles. Most houses are made of swish, both the

wattle and daub variety, and the Atakpame (clay brick) variety. In the larger villages, a few houses are made of cement bricks. In most villages the water supply is merely a nearby river, but a few villages have dams or wells. Occupations, other than farming, are mainly in teaching, civil service, some logging, and in trading. The variation in occupational differentiation between villages is quite high, relative to the variation for the whole population in the Kwawu district.

The most important feature of these villages, separated sometimes from each other by one to thirty kilometers, is the relationships they have with Obo, with Nkawkaw, with each other, and with villages on non-Obo land. It would not be possible to present an ethnographic study of any one of them without reference to the hometown, Obo. Adikro (headmen) all owe allegiance to the chief of Obo. Funerals, as mentioned, are usually conducted in Obo. The land belongs to various stools located in Obo. The abusua panyin (see chapter five) of almost any villager is either resident in Obo, or is a migrant from Obo. The Akwesidae is an important regular event when elders from all these lineages go to Obo. Most of the churches in these villages have "mother" congregations in Obo. One exception to this attachment to Obo is in education, and in other nationally administered departments. Schools are administrated by various churches, and are subordinate to administrative offices in Mpraeso or Nkawkaw. Otherwise the villages can be seen as being on the social and spatial areola of Obo town.

There is also much interaction with Nkawkaw, which is on Obomen rather than Obo land. Transportation is an important factor. Although some villagers near the cliffs will spend a half a day climbing and walking to Obo, most take motor transport. The train to Nkawkaw can be boarded at Pra River (for Obo villages in the Gyaamase No. 2 area), and at Kwawu Praso. Lorries also leave from all the larger villages, and

people can walk to them from the hamlets. All these lorries go to Nkawkaw, and villagers then take a lorry or taxi to Obo from the Obo station at Nkawkaw. Nkawkaw is also an important commercial centre where supplies from salt to roofing material can be purchased. It is also an administrative centre, so hunting, gun, and other licences, are obtained at Nkawkaw. Many Muslims, and a few Christians, also go to Nkawkaw for their religious observances. Nkawkaw is thus an important commercial, administrative, transport, religious, and social centre for these Obo satellite villages.

Although there is social interaction between Obo villages and those nearby ones on non-Obo land, most inter-village interaction is amongst Obo villages themselves. The first thing that would strike an ethnographer when staying in any Obo village is that there is considerable socializing between neighbouring villages. Many people walk five and six kilometers, after a hard day of work, to share a drink and a few hours of conversation with relatives or friends in nearby villages. If anyone dies in the vicinity, most residents of the nearby villages will try to go to Obo for the funeral. Churches in some villages attract members from other villages. The same applies for primary and middle schools. Local deities also. When the god of one village engages in agoro (lit. play), villagers from nearby areas will come and join in, sitting, drinking, and watching, if not dancing and singing.

In spite of their geographical separation, these villages are each part of a wider community which includes each other, the commercial town of Nkawkaw, and the hometown of Obo. Wireless, newspapers read by the literates, and visits from relatives who live in Accra and the smaller commercial towns, also keep them connected with a wider urban community. Migration is therefore seen to take place within this larger dispersed interpenetrating community and should not be seen merely as a physical

or demographic movement between communities. The following chapters will examine the sociocultural features of the extended Obo community, and its economic, social, and ideological dimensions. First we will examine the changes in technology, inquire about the role of cyclical migration in those changes, and ask how they may have caused changes in the other dimensions of the community.

CHAPTER THREE

MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN OBO

As can be inferred from the above historical sketch, the Obo community, since its origin, has undergone numerous technological changes. Although a few technical skills became obsolete, the general theme was accretionary: adding new onto old; rather than revolutionary; replacement of new for old. Industrial specialization led to increasing division of labour and both affected social differentiation. Technical and occupational specialties affected and were affected by new methods of distributing scarce and useful resources. The general direction of change was from an allocation system based totally on prestations and obligations associated with kinship, through exchange and contract arrangement, to a complex commercial market system of allocation. As in the technological dimension, the adscititious economic forms added onto but did not totally replace the old. Technology, industry, occupations, and economy all experienced considerable accessional changes which should be examined to observe their effects on the interpenetrating dispersed Obo community.

Most ab extra technological changes affected migration. Even before the Akan arrived in Obo, nomadic hunting and gathering had been supplemented by the domestication of certain vegetables, notably kola, oil palm[1], and yam. Later food products were introduced: across the

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1. Oil Palm, Elaeis guineensis Jacq., which was domesticated in West Africa, has been excavated in Kintampo, where it has been dated at 1600 to 1400 B.C. (Flight 1970:72). Endoscarps found in the Bosom Pra cave in Kwawu appear to follow a chronological pattern of change that leads observers to suspect that the plant developed its useful characteristics as the result of domestication, selective breeding, and cultivation (Smith op. cit.). "Abe no neema aduasa, wukyi bi a wudi bi, the palm has many (lit. thirty) things (i.e., uses), (even) if you hate (taboo) it, you use some (of it)."

continent from East Africa and Asia, and by early Europeans at the littoral. The latter were most commercially important for Kwawu during the nineteenth century; introduced by immigrants and returning cyclical migrants. The earliest sedentary cultivation was characterized by neolithic stone axes and clay pottery; only the latter remain. Environmental variations in resources and differential innovations in toolmaking both require and encourage geographical specialization; thus long-distance trade and cyclic migration. Architecture, which by the time of the Akan intrusion was based on a rectangular floor plan[2] with a central open garth, underwent modifications as migrants went and came, bringing new styles. Present variations in architectural styles in Obo can be traced to variations in the migration pattern. The communication systems underwent changes most important to migration. Communication is a broad category including mankind's most important tool, language, as well as mechanical systems of transporting people, goods, and information. They all are necessary, not only for diffusion of other types of technology, but also for the flow of information and people necessary for migration dynamics. These will be described in turn; introducing Obo occupational and economic development and structure.

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2. The Pae were members of the Bretuo-Tena party that had been chased to Kwawu Dukoman who then broke off (pae = to break) from the main body that returned to Kwawu Kodiabe. The Basle missionary, David Asante, on his 1877 Salaga journey, reported that the Pae ("... a Twi people and subjects to the Kwahuhene,") were, "... a simple and primitive people, still in the zopfzeit (pigtail age). They have small round houses with pointed roof with entrances only five feet by two feet," (Asante 1878: September 19, Jenkins 1970:77).

Technology: (a) Agrarian Migration

A profusion of aliunde domestic plants and animals have been introduced to societies formerly based on gathering[3] and hunting technologies. Numerous indigenous products, nevertheless, are still hunted and collected by the Kwawu. Big game hunting (buffalo and elephant) on the Afram plains[4], an industry formerly requiring Akan cyclical migration from the escarpment, no longer exists. Ivory produced by that hunting once was an important trade item traversing the Afram-Volta route to the coast where it was bought by Europeans.[5] Although small game is occasionally found in Kwawu, elephant and buffalo, which were so important to trade, migration, and the development of Kwawu, virtually disappeared

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3. Wild honey, mushrooms, queen termites, herbs, and other forest products are still collected, while small game is trapped and shot. A Swiss Basle missionary noted whole populations of Kwawu towns absent on snail hunts before the colonial period when on his preaching tours (Dilger 1880, Jenkins 1970:125). Obo people still collect snails but the town is no longer emptied as a result.

4. In the first decade of this century, a British conservator of forest, after inspecting the Afram, reported:

> Judging from the game tracks met with, elephants and buffalo must be very plentiful. Large numbers of them are slaughtered every year and the flesh taken up to Abetifi for sale. We met numbers of people every day who were employed in carrying the smoked flesh to that town.... elephant meat can be purchased almost any day at Abetifi.... Abetifi is the great centre to which the bulk of the smoked flesh is brought. It is the worst offender in this respect. Some of the more well to do inhabitants own small hunters villages down on the plain and a portion of everything shot in the vicinity has to be sent up to them for disposal.
>
> (Thompson 1908:1407/07, A.D.M. 11/242)

Twenty-five years earlier, Ramseyer, when crossing the Abosom-Boni River at Ohema Hama, noted that ivory tusks sold for merely four shillings per pound (Ramseyer 1885:March 15, Jenkins 1970). In his report for 1916, the D.C. for Kwawu wrote that elephants and water buffalo as well as antelopes and small game were still being hunted on the Obosom game reserve (Hobbs 1917:February, A.D.M. 29/6/10).

5. In the early eighteenth century, cyclical migrant traders from England reported that Kwawu produced "teeth" (Thomas et al 1709:103, Furley N. 38, p. 97) meaning ivory tusks. In the same century, "One tribe of the Amina, the Quahu, kills many elephants," (Protten 1764:7 translated by Christaller 1875:XVI who explained that "Amina" was a former name of the Asante).

by the third decade of this century. A few retired elephant hunters still live elsewhere on the escarpment, but the last one in Obo died a few years ago. The ancient method of trapping and poisoning fish in the rivers[6] on the Afram plains, as practised by the Guan and then adopted by the Akan who made short-term cyclical migrations from the highlands, is now also almost extinct. The Akan are at present interested more in farming and trading, while migrant Battor fishermen, with their sail, net, and boat technology, have moved from the lower Volta to the new lake on the flooded areas of the Afram.[7] The technology of

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6. Dupuis (1824:XXI) wrote of abundant fishing on the Afram. The method of collecting was probably instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the former Guan king, Ataara Firam. In the tradition of Asuboni, Ameyaw and Onwona (1964) reported that around 1826, the Kwawu Tafo Hene, Kofi Minta Afrai, permitted the komfo of Obonyame to live in Asuboni and sap the river for fish for the Tafohene. On his 1884 expedition across Afram, Ramseyer (op. cit.) observed the method of fishing by the Kwawu. At certain times of year, hundreds of people move out onto the Afram. A bundle of herbs called efwe is pounded and put in a heap. After the komfo (priest) says a prayer, the powder is thrown on the water and the people scramble to grab great quantities as the stunned fish come to the surface. Ramseyer condemned the practice as a "day of gross intemperance," and stated that respected people didn't allow their daughters to get involved (Ramseyer 1885, Jenkins 1970). Often the river is first dammed to reduce the downstream water content, and thus make the herb more effective. The hunter Okuru Baduru, in the tradition of Worobong (Ameyaw and Dankwa 1964), is said to have used this method.

7. In 1933 some Battor people who had been living across the river on the Afram Plains, moved to Asuboni (Ameyaw and Onwona 1964), indicating some settlement in Kwawu prior to the Volta Lake Project. On Bokuruwa land in the village of Kotoso Aworoso (also called Tefle), one Kobla Dibo had lead a group of Tongu fishermen first to Begoro land, then, after misunderstandings, to Kwawu (op. cit.). Ten Mefa fishermen each paying five per canoe to North Kwawu Local Council, living at Samankwaye, were known to maintain their hometown ties in the Volta Region (Ameyaw and Osei Mensah, op. cit.):

> ...the Tongu are now emigrating to the shores of the Volta Lake where the fishing industry is said to be booming. This type of migrant fishing is different from the earlier pattern of labouring. In the latter, they always came back for their annual festivals and mortuary rites. In the present system it seems that the traditional homes are being gradually depopulated in favour of the settlements around the lake.
>
> (Fiawoo 1974:168)

agriculture dominates the social organization of the extended Obo community.

Of two important techniques associated with the introduction of sedentary agriculture into hunting and gathering societies, smooth rock (neolithic) tool-making and fired clay pottery work, only the latter remains in Kwawu. Pottery, introduced by migrants from the north five chiliads ago, still has a role to play in cyclical migration. Women from the highland Kwawu towns go down to the clay beds below the cliffs during the rainy seasons, like farmers going to satellites.

Fictile technology is an important factor in the development of Kwawu social organization. The best clay is found at the foot of the southern escarpment, on what is now Obomen, Atibie, and Mpraeso land; the highest yielding of the three on Mpraeso land. Doubtless the early (Guan) people on the Afram plains travelled over the escarpment to get clay, and a thriving migrant trade developed even before the Akan arrived. An ancient Kwawu town, said to belong to one Yaw Awere, before being devastated by Ampong Adjei (ancestor of the paramount chief at Abene) and resettled by Ohemen Amanfro, was called Ayowa Dwaso (lit. clay dish market). The site is now called Abetifi. Ayowa Dwaso dates at least to Guan occupation of Kwawu, if not earlier.

Dishes and pots are not the only objects in Kwawu made of fired clay. Kwawu funerary terracottas have been in European collections for at least the last fifty years.[8] These Sampon are clay heads; idealized portrayals of important deceased persons. In the 1930s a British

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8. In London the relevant terracottas are listed as follows: "Head" by Kwahu (Ashanti) people settled in an Ewe district; Capt. R.P. Wild, 1936, 3-7-11;" "Two large heads by the Kwahu people settled in an Ewe district, 1936, 3-7-12;" "Two heads in similar style, E.A.L. Martin, 1934, 12-1-22, 23;" "Head in Kwahu style, Ashanti, 1966, A.F.4.1.;" "Two large heads, Fomena, Ashanti, Capt. R.P. Wild, 1923, 12-2-1, 2;" Museum of Man, Burlington Gardens, London, 1973, 74. See also References Cited, Wild op. cit.

Colonial Officer, Captain R.P. Wild, made a hobby of locating and collecting some of these terracottas from Fomena whence the Kwawu migrated, and from the Pae districts of the Volta Region where the Abene people had gone (Wild 1934:216). The similarities of style, indicating gradual changes over time, further confirm Akan oral traditions of migrations and settlement in Kwawu described in other chapters.

The manufacture of the dishes is by hand and the use of the potter's wheel is unknown.

There is a question of sexual division of labour in the manufacture and distribution of the clay pots and terracottas. Some people have argued that only pots and dishes are made by women, while the manufacture of funeral effigies is reserved for men (Fagg and Picton 1970:8). This is not necessarily so in Kwawu, and may be an oversimplification of the general Akan pattern. Most clay workers are women. Some women also make funeral effigies. I commissioned one from a potter who required a photograph of the deceased. She warned that the finished product was a very powerful medicine, not to be toyed with, and told me to respect and serve it (with drinks and food) as I would my deceased ancestor. Sieber reports a man from Aduamoa who made one for his own funeral (1972:176). Many Mpraeso boys know how to make dishes, though they would prefer more "masculine" jobs such as lorry driving, not that there is any strict taboo against men making pots.

There is a strict prohibition against men going into the reserved forest area where clay is dug from the ground, especially observed during the wet season when the clay is collected. This, the women argue, is because the job is very muddy; so to save their clothing, they work naked, bathing in a stream before donning their clothes again. If there is a dangerous landfall or clay slide, however, men have been called into the restricted areas (on rare occasions) to rescue women.

The trade in these clay pots also is handled mainly by Kwawu women, (not men), some of whom have migrated to Accra, returning to Kwawu to replenish their stocks. Pottery, then, from beginning to end, is regarded as on the distaff side of division of labour. It plays a role in migration, particularly that of women who trade in the towns and Accra. It is a technical trait dating far into the agrarian past which contributed to the modern dispersed community. We now turn to other ways in which farming contributed to the pattern of cyclical migration.

Prior to the modern growth of farming on the Afram Plains, the cyclical pattern of migration to exploit the Afram's resources was already developed. This cyclical nature of Akan settlement was not, however, well understood by British colonial administrators:

> I therefore do not attach much importance to the fact that the Kwahus have settled on the land. Their witnesses swore that they had settled but when it came to cross-examination the settlement simply meant living there temporarily during the fishing and hunting seasons.
>
> (Maxwell 1926)

to the detriment of the Kwawu who lost land to Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions as a result.

Some plant products almost from the time of their earliest use were important for trade rather than for immediate domestic consumption. Kola, an indigenous tree cultivated in the rain forest, is now tended by migrant sharecroppers and farm labourers (usually non-Akan), who live in some of the Kwawu satellite villages. Formerly kola was not grown in Kwawu but Muslim traders passed through market towns on the escarpment (including Obo) to obtain kola from Akyem Abuakwa and Asante Akyem.[9] As

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9. Kola, Cola acuminata or Cola nitida, is called Bise in Twi. Dyula traders came south for it at least since the twelfth century (Church 1957, 1966:114, Wilks 1962). The missionaries reported being traded in Sadan (Tschopp 1887, Jenkins 1970:238). The D.C. who signed the British treaty with Kwawu reported, "Not far westward of this country there are

an important trade item moving through Kwawu, it contributed to the development of migrant trade in Kwawu.

Rubber, in contrast to kola, was commercially important for only a very short time; between 1890 and 1914 (Bevin 1960, Garlick 1967:472). It grew mainly in Brong Ahafo, but its trade was organized by wealthy merchants, usually from Obo.[10] As with the oil palm trade,[11] the Basle missionaries despaired of the rubber trade because it kept townspeople away from Obo for months at a time, and thus away from the evangelical influence of the mission.[12]

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fine cola nut plantations, the products of which from (sic) a staple article of trade with Kwantampo and Salaga," (Smith 1888, A.D.M. 11/573). Francis Crowther mentioned traders from "Atabobo via Framso and Abetifi," who travelled through Kwawu to the north with, "kola from Kankan," which is near the Kwawu Akyem Abuakwa border, but, "there is no kola trade in Okwawu, and I have not seen the tree growing," (Crowther 1906:177).

10. Rubber was collected, "... from indigenous trees such as Funtumia elastica, and from vines such as Landolphia hendelotii and landolphia owariensis important in Rain Forests up to and during the First World War," (Church 1957:114). Garlick argued that the growth in demand for rubber (from 1890) coincided with the British suppression of the slave trade (Garlick 1967:466).

11. In 1884 oil palm was still an important cash crop and trade item, before the cocoa industry developed. The Basle catechist at Abetifi wrote:

> As there are no special works here for the Christians as well as the heathens by which they can live except to some other places, therefore many of the Christians are now and then running about to some places whether they can find some means which they can be fed; this is especially one reason by which most of them become so worse; e.g. if they been to Acuapim they didn't attend to the services only stopping at plantation thinking about palm oil and palm kernels where they can get them plenty to carry and make money by them; sometimes they are not here for that whole year even, they are only seeking to make money but to save their souls not.
>
> (Boateng 1884, No. 84, photocopy in Jenkins 1970)

12. In 1891, Ramseyer, worried about the souls of his flock, noted a "... large number of Christians absent on the India rubber trade," (Ramseyer 1891:February 6, Jenkins 1970:271). Near the close of the century another Basle missionary wrote in his annual report about Obo that, "... they like most of the Christian men spent most of the year away from the station in order to gather and sell rubber ... as a result, some of the houses on the station are falling into ruin, and the chapel started

Cyclical migrants from Europe, primarily interested in the coastal trade, were responsible for introducing scores of domestic vegetable and animal products produced for cash and consumption.[13] The Kwawu became well known as producers of these agricultural crops. Dupuis (1824) wrote of the fruitfulness of Kwawu in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. When the Basle missionaries came to Kwawu, they were impressed with Kwawu enthusiasm for farming. As one said, the "... people are busy planters; of bananas, yams, rice, and groundnuts," (Dieterle 1879: April 4, Jenkins 1970:117). When the British signed the treaty with Kwawu, they too were impressed with Kwawu industry and industriousness:

> The whole country is well under cultivation, a great contrast with the thick bush which predominates in other parts of the protectorate, there is therefore an abundance of food consisting of yams, plantains, maize, cassava, cocoa, rice, palm trees, etc. Fowls are plentiful, so also are sheep, for the plateaus are splendid for grazing. Shooting forms a great past time with the natives, who kill Elephants, Leopards, and other wild animals in the prairie. During my stay I saw magnificent tusks which belonged to elephants recently shot. The Okwaus are most industrious, for when neither shooting nor farming, they spend their time in weaving native cloths as well as trading with the coast or Salagah.
>
> (Smith 1888:December 13, A.D.M. 11/1145)

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two years ago is not half finished." Obrecht then noted that all the Obo people were absent for long periods, either on their farms at the foot of the mountain or plying the rubber trade (Obrecht 1899:January 25, Jenkins 1970:383). Ameyaw et al noted that rubber passed through Mankrong Kwawu (where) Obohene Kwasi Nyarko had his store, down the Afram River, the Volta River to Akuse, after the turn of the century (Ameyaw et al 1964, IAS Am/3).

13. By the seventeenth century the Dutch reported that the Portuguese had already introduced pigeons, hens, pigs, sheep, maize, sugar cane, pineapple, and banana (de Marees 1605 cited by Dickson 1971:46). Bosman reported that the Portuguese had also imported sweet potatoes, oranges, lemons, red pepper, and tobacco (Bosman 1705:letter XVI, cited by Dickson 1971:49). The Danes introduced plantation crops between 1783 and 1850 (Adams 1957). Basle missionaries brought oranges, coconut, guava, and mangoes to Kwawu (Ansong 1959:58). In 1888 Sir William Brandford Griffith, hearing of the agricultural fame of the Kwawu, sent presents of sunflower seed which he said were "... antiseptic against malaria," and Egyptian cotton seeds with Dr. Smith who came to sign the treaty. The foods introduced by Europeans did not usually originate in Europe but were originally domesticated in other areas to which they had also migrated.

Three years later, when the Assistant Colonial Secretary went to Kwawu to investigate slavery and to settle disputes, he came to a similar conclusion, writing: "Obo is a very large place, but the people seem industrious. The majority of the Kwahus are farmers really," (Turton op. cit.).

Early in this century, a District Dolonial Officer for the combined district of Akyem Abuakwa and Kwawu, also described Kwawu farm industry:

> The cocoa industry has not developed to an extraordinary extent in Okwawu. The Okwawus are, relatively, an industrious people, and have more extensive and more varied plantations than any I have seen. The former quality is, perhaps, attributable to the density of population, but the latter bears the stamp of enterprise. Coffee is grown near Mpraeso, cotton for native use is grown at Aduamoa, and there are several plantations of mountain rice, yams, plantains, bananas, maize, white and red beans, tomatoes, garden eggs, okro, and most fruits can be bought in any Okwawu town on market days, and ground nuts are grown in sufficient quantity to supply Akyem.
>
> (Crowther 1906:178)

Crowther then went on to compare the Kwawu, whom he considered to be industrious, with the "indolent" Akyem (op. cit.).

Coffee was one of the earliest non-food cash crops meant entirely for overseas export. The Kwawu cultivated it for a brief period prior to the cocoa boom, and transported it to Accra via the Afram on the late nineteenth century trade routes.[14]

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14. Jenkins (1970:202, 216). Coffee was not fated to fare as well as cocoa, however. Ansong (1959:76) stated that Ramseyer introduced coffee to Kwawu but it failed. As travelling commissioner Hull argued, the failure was probably due to market and transport conditions:

> The Kwawus are agriculturalists. There are several tons of coffee in the country now left to rot on the trees because the tariff for conveying a load of 60 lb. to Accra is 6/6, and this weight of coffee only commands 5/., as low as the present market value. I am asked daily what ought to be planted in its place.
>
> (Hull 1898:October 6, A.D.M. 11/1145)

Cocoa was grown in Kwawu later than in Akwapem and Akyem (cf. Hill op. cit.) after being introduced to the district by Swiss missionaries and returning Kwawu cyclical migrants. At first it was important less as a farm product than as a trade good for the Kwawus who transported it to the coast.[15] Cocoa was also indirectly important to Kwawu migration because the wealth produced by cocoa export was responsible for the growth of the commercial "cocoa" towns of southern Gold Coast, which attracted migrant Kwawu traders. Cocoa is now grown in the satellite farm areas of the southern Kwawu lowlands, where numerous new hamlets mushroomed amongst a few ancient ones in the first decade of this century. It is also still grown in a few places on the escarpment, although on the northern slopes it has died out because of desiccation. Cocoa plantations in Kwawu, interplanted with kola, oranges, and food cash crops, are usually tended by migrant abusa (lit. cut one third) "sharecroppers" from other ethnic groups who take one third of the value of the product.

Many Obo traders buy tracts of land, usually in Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions, and open up the forest to cocoa plantations. To do this, they divert business profits into land investment. Cocoa farming has thus become a stage in the migratory life cycle described in chapter four.

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15. "As the Hausas carry the Kola of the Akyems, so the Okwawus carry their cocoa. Numbers of them come down, chiefly to Dodowa and Akuse, along the main Anyenam, Kukurantumi, Koforidua road," (Crowther 1906: 177). Crowther reported that though it was a trade item for Kwawus, it was not grown extensively in Kwawu (Crowther, op. cit., p. 178). According to the Acting Commissioner Eastern Province:

> I heard recently that some Okwawus clubbed together, raised a sum of 300 and having bought all the cocoa they could, took it to Mankrong and refused to sell below a certain price. The Kpong boatmen, however, refused to carry it and after some weeks the speculators were obliged to sell the damaged cocoa at a loss.
> (Hull 1906:January 30, A.D.M. 11/1445)

The relationship between Kwawu agrarian technology and the "hometown-satellite" migration pattern is similar in Akyem Kotoku, a neighbouring Akan people to the south:

> The country towns were - and are - seldom urban in aspect. Farming was, and still is, carried on from the country town on 'stool land,' the farmer having to trudge daily perhaps a few miles to the farms they had made by clearing forest. Some farms, though still on stool land, were so far out that it was convenient to make camps and return home only for festivals, funerals, family business and other occasions of social intercourse; such a permanent camp is called a village.
>
> (Field 1960:23)

The importance of agricultural satellite villages to local migration from another Kwawu town was noted by Ansong: "Because of the distance from Abetifi to the area, the farmers started to put up small houses where they could live and farm, and visit Abetifi occasionally," (Ansong 1959:80).

The importance of agriculture to Kwawu migration has been mentioned by a Kwawu geographer from Bokuruwa:

> One of the features of life in Kwawu is the high mobility of population. In a district where farmers are geographically unattached to one sector but own farms in two or more sectors there is a complex movement of farmers and their labourers from place to place. Other farmers, through failure of crops move long distances in search of economic gain. Most Kwahu traders in the urban centers in the country own farms in that district and so pay regular visits to them.
>
> (Ofori 1965:12)

Cyclical migration based on agrarian pursuits also frustrated the attempts by Basle missionaries to build up a strong congregation in Obo, as revealed by lamentations in their reports. In 1887 missionary Tschopp complained that Obo was very empty, the people being mostly on the "Akem (sic) Plains," as it was dry and food was scarce. Part of their absence was due to farming, part of it was to dig for gold (Tschopp 1887:October 18, Jenkins 1970:242). The following year Ramseyer wrote that in Obo, "things were not progressing, as the greater number of

the Obo people spend ten months of the year in their farms at the foot of the scarp.... only in the adae festival were large numbers present," (Ramseyer 1888:February 13, Jenkins 1970:244). The missionaries continued to complain about the absence of Obo people who farmed in the southern lowlands to Kwawu in neighbouring Akyem Kotoku and Asante Akyem.[16]

To summarize the agrarian factor in Obo cyclical migration, the classic study of migrant cocoa farmers can be quoted. Kwawu migration resembles that from Akwapem towns which:

> lost much of their resident population, the westward exodus which began as a migration remains a migration today. Despite their long residence in the forest the migrant farmers have lost none of their attachment to their home towns and are always involved in a to-and-fro movement: 'They work their lands like sailors taking very long voyages.'
>
> (Hill 1963:1,
> quoting from a letter by Dr. M.J. Field)

The evidence above suggests that today's cyclical migration pattern, based on hometown identity, has a firm historical foundation in gathering, hunting, and agrarian technologies.

Now we turn to another type of technology in the developing Obo community; the construction of shelters.

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16. After another year, Ramseyer was to report that the first two Christians baptized in Obo (at the end of 1889), had their catechuminate long drawn out because of the "almost nomadic" life that the Obo people lead, partly due to visits to farms at the foot of the Kwawu escarpment (Ramseyer 1890:No. 11:86, Jenkins 1970:260). In his report for the following year, when two more adults were baptized, he still complained that the great difficulty was that the Obo people spent several months or a year on their farms (Ramseyer 1891:February 6, No. 11:126, Jenkins 1970:281). The next year, after five adults were baptized, he was again to complain about problems caused by prolonged absences of Obo people at their farms at the foot of the escarpment (Ramseyer 1892:February 4, No. 11:125, Jenkins 1970:281). And so it continued for the Basle missionaries. Haasis, for example, made the same complaint (1897:March 11, Jenkins 1970:346), and Obrecht made the same complaint (Obrecht 1899:11:132, Jenkins 1970:383) at the end of the century.

Technology: (b) Architecture and Migration

One would think that migration, based on spatial mobility, is the antithesis of housing, which is the most geographically stable of the technological activities of most non-nomadic societies. However, architecture and its variations are closely linked to the Obo cyclical migration system. Although the need for shelter remains a constant in human society, the techniques used in house construction and the styles of architecture are two important variables. Not only did the architectural styles and techniques of Obo change when outside migrants arrived and when cyclical community members returned, but variations in house styles at any one time reflect the different social positions of the migrants who built them.

At some time, probably with the movement of the Akan into Kwawu, or perhaps even the Guan, the house style changed from round to rectangular (see footnote two above, page 100). One might speculate that this was due to northern influence. Because religious institutions tend to include the most conservative elements of culture, some pre-Akan survivals are extant as round houses occupied by some tutelary spirits (described in chapter five). Apart from those few exceptions, the basic rectangular pattern, particularly in the floor plan, remains essentially the same, although size and material of construction have since been subsequently modified.

The "traditional" Akan rectangular house style was analyzed by Woode (1969): it is a courtyard type, reminiscent of Arab design, consisting of a small central rectangular unroofed garth, surrounded by (also rectangular) roofed rooms. The rooms around the garth are used for sleeping, storing, meeting, or cooking. All opened directly into the courtyard; few opened outside the structure. The structure was functional in that it provided defence for the residential group, yet

also provided an inside, protected, cool, central, outdoor area for activities.

The surrounding rooms had different functions. The pato (open court room, verandah, or meeting hall) was roofed to provide protection from the rain and sun when the people met al fresco to discuss or solve problems. The mukase (kitchen, hearth) was roofed and open to the garth, to allow fresh air into the fire, and allow smoke out. The bedrooms and storage rooms usually had some wall with a door or cloth to separate it from the central courtyard and afford privacy. Originally the whole house was single-storied. Most activities and living time took place outside the rooms.

As late as the turn of the century, Obo people were still probably not building with swish (sun-dried clay) blocks, but rather relied on an earlier method: first constructing a wooden frame, then plastering it with mud or clay. This (wattle and daub) method is occasionally used in new house construction in satellite villages on the lowlands. Some of the oldest tumble-down ruins in Obo appear to be remains of wattle and daub houses. Perhaps those who did know how to use swish to make bricks at that time were migrants away from Obo. Basle missionary, Obrecht, could not find any. He wrote about starting to build the new chapel in Obo. It was difficult because, "... the men were mostly away on the rubber trade." Obrecht stated that since Kwawu people did not know how to build in swish, he had to bring in migrant Krobo workers to build the chapel (Obrecht 1898:January 22, Jenkins 1970:368), a fine example of the relationships between missionaries, migration, and mud huts. Obrecht mentioned also that several young (Christian) men were building houses on mission land (op. cit.).

The missionaries, and later the Guggisbergs, made disparaging remarks about Obo architecture, in contrast to the newer Christian

quarters, and the newly built town of Twinedurase. The town of Obo, as seen by Obrecht, and later the Guggisbergs, is now the central, most congested part of Obo. Even today, in Obo, with all its fine new concrete houses, all roofed with iron or slate, a few of the older, central, un-rebuilt neighbourhoods in Ohantrase and Pampaso, retain some of the delightful meandering narrow passageways, survivals of the early congestion described by the missionaries. There is scarcely a ninety-degree corner, and small hidden doorways lead from one compound to another. It is possible to wander among them, visiting inhabitants, speculating on life in ancient days.

An Obo elder who has watched the architecture evolve, made some explanations of the architectural "jumble." In the old days, life was not as safe as now ... and new migrants into Obo would come to beg one of the established lineages to let them stay in Obo. The people who acted as patrons to the later migrants, encouraged them to build their houses behind the ones already there. As described in the previous chapter, the town grew, radiating out from Ohantrase in an unorganized, organic fashion. When any townsman was pursued by enemies, especially by strangers, he could duck into any of his kinsmen's passageways and, in a matter of a few minutes, disappear. Obo people who had got into trouble with the British authorities could come and disappear in their hometown. The standard rectangular courtyard style of house was adapted to an interlocking maze of structures, with many secret passages, for the protection of the inhabitants.

Houses were formerly built communally.[17] Those in the satellite villages were usually temporary, built by a few brothers or friends in

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17. In 1903, Captain Hawtrey mentioned that the "youngmen" in Asakraka were responsible for building the chief's palace (Hawtrey (1903:May 11, A.D.M. 11/1445). Colonial government reports note that rest houses, etc. were also built by communal labour (Govt. Gazette 1916).

the old wattle and daub style. Some informants say that the clay sun-baked brick style was introduced by the Basle missionaries. It is referred to as "Atakpame" (a name of a town in north-central Togo) and other informants say the technique was learned when the Kwawu people went to fight the Nkonya, or when the Abene people went to stay at Dukoman. The houses in the hometown, in contrast to those in the villages, were of the stronger Atakpame type rather than the lighter wattle and daub, because the hometowns had the added functions of refuge and defence from military attacks. Larger numbers of people worked communally on house construction in the hometown. Because of migration, especially to urban areas, the methods, financing, and material used for housebuilding all have changed. The missionaries introduced the practice of hiring labourers, especially skilled carpenters and masons, paying them to build mission houses. In spite of technical changes, the open courtyard pattern survives in modified forms.

Houses built in the hometown by migrants, came to have special significance to the status of the absent builders. Polly Hill's comments about migrant Akwapem cocoa farmers are also applicable to migrant Kwawu traders:

> The houses in the hometown are self-made memorials, expressions of civic pride, useful residence (for school children, indigent relatives, retrievement visits, etc.). Normally they are non income-yielding and unsaleable assets. Usually, though not always, they are built in instalments, as the money for the building materials became available and many of them, especially in Larteh, are never completed.... That the migration remains a migration after three generations -- that the farmers are migrants not emigrants - is best illustrated by the hometowns and the farming areas. The scale of house building in the hometown - the number of separate residences, their size, quality, and ornateness - is a faithful reflection of the former wealth of the farmers who build them. In the farming area (though this is not altogether true of a town like Suhum), everyone lives in the same simple style: there is no visible means of distinguishing rich and poor - by residence or by dress.
>
> (Hill 1963:192)

The variation in construction (between houses built in the hometown and those in the villages) described by Hill, is also applicable to the Kwawu cocoa migrants:

> They build Italianate mansions in their hometowns (the antithesis of the weekend cottage) and spend nearly all their time in the forest area, living either in cottages, houses, or grouped settlements in the land (which used to be called 'camps' by the earliest map makers and for which no satisfactory word has been found since), or in towns such as Suhum, which are inhabited entirely by strangers and which have grown, usually rather gradually, over the years.
>
> (Hill 1963:1)

Those migrants from Obo who are wealthy merchants in Accra, however, do not live in cottages in the host location. Many huge houses, particularly in the Adabraka area of Accra, as well as in all the Accra suburbs, are owned by merchants. Some wealthy Obo traders own a half dozen revenue-producing houses in Accra. Their construction as well as interior decoration is sometimes unbelievably expensive. Even before a struggling Obo petty trader in Accra puts up a rentable house in Accra, however, he hopes to build a house back in Obo. As Garlick noted, "These concrete houses are a well-known manifestation of Kwahu prosperity, and Obo has the reputation of being perhaps the wealthiest of Kwahu towns," (Garlick 1967:477). The relationship between the cyclical element of migration and Obo housebuilding is therefore obvious.

Someone wishing to build a house (usually a migrant who has made some money elsewhere and wants to start "investing" in his hometown) will speak to his lineage head, then he and a few family representatives will approach the chief's court of elders. Although land in various sections of the town belong to the various major lineages, drinks still have to be presented to the chief. The land, selected with consultation with the lineage head and chief, is then demarcated, and a surveyor employed to map it out and register it with the lands department. The Obo chief or his representative (an elder or linguist) will accompany the builder to

the land, and a libation (bought by the builder) is poured. The builder then hires a contractor and the housebuilding begins; usually over a number of years, as the migrant gets enough money to build. This is a major source of wealth flowing back to the hometown economy, negating some of the "brain-drain" effect of one-way migration. There are many unfinished houses in Obo. I asked a few Obo migrants if they would build a house completely if they were given cash or won a lottery prize. "No," was always the answer. They would begin to build a house, but use the balance to invest in some business venture, syphoning off funds to finish building in the hometown at a later date.

When the house eventually becomes habitable, the builder comes to Obo on an Akwasidae and, with matrilineal relatives and a few affines, conducts an out-dooring where a sheep is killed and libations poured. The chief and his elders are invited, and usually officiate. Specific parts of the slaughtered sheep are given or sent to certain stool holders in the town. For that reason the housebuilder often has another sheep slaughtered for the enjoyment of the people who attend the party or "out-dooring" of the house.

These houses undergo a process of "matrilinealization" over the generations. They begin as property of individuals who pay for their construction. Although the immediate lineage participates in the ceremonies, and often the housebuilder's mother or sister will move into the new house, the house is still considered the private property of the housebuilder. On his death, the house is treated as lineage property more than as the sole possession of whoever inherits it from the housebuilder. By the third generation the inheritor holds the house in trust for the lineage. The social significance of inheritable property will be more fully explained in chapter five.

Many of the elders and heads of lineages "owning" houses in the older, central portions of the town are migrants, although they return to Obo for functions more frequently than migrants who don't hold traditional offices. If they feel secure in their position they may direct their personal profits into renovation of the old lineage house rather than build a private new one on an empty plot. Renovation often requires the complete demolition of the old swish house, and the building of a new cement house in its place. Sometimes the "drinks" money to the chief is foregone as it is not seen as a new house being built, but seen merely as improvement of the old one. Because the old swish houses in the centre of town were small and located in cramped quarters, new houses built in their stead, often two-storied cement structures, are small, copying the original irregular floor plans, unlike the spacious two-storey houses built on empty land away from the centre of town. Elders who do extensive renovations of this sort often have an "out-dooring" party for the renovation, like the out-dooring held on completion of totally new houses.

The furnishings in Obo houses are more luxurious than one would expect after seeing less wealthy homes in other districts. Such luxury dates well into the past. Only four years after founding the mission at Abetifi, the Basle missionaries were pleasantly surprised by the household furnishing in a house where they stayed when visiting Obo. There they found, "European furniture, bedstead, mattress, pillows, small table, stool, mirror, lantern, pictures including portraits of Princess Wilhelm and Heinrich," (Dilger 1880:July 3, Jenkins 1970:125). Even today, visitors to the homes of wealthy Obo businessmen are impressed by the sight of imported American Oak panel walls, imported Persian rugs, and imported Italian furniture.

The materials and styles of housebuilding can be roughly categorized and their present distribution within Obo reflect the development of Obo, variations in class and status, and certain variations in migration patterns. See the description of neighbourhoods in chapter two. The old small garth style is found in the town centre. The newer, multi-storied mansions are interspersed with the second style, and also located on the outskirts of town. The closer to the centre of town, and the older the original buildings, the more the courtyard resembles a garth, while the further from the centre and the newer the structure then the more the yard resembles a curtilage. There are no distinct boundaries between these three types of houses. They do not coincide with the division into brongs described in chapter two, and different types are frequently seen side by side.

In most of the Ohantrase brong, and those sections of neighbouring Pampaso and Asamanya closest to Ohantrase, the old style of house is most frequently found. Courtyards are small, sometimes five to seven metres in width. The rooms around the garths are also small and are usually built of swish blocks. The walls touch those of neighbouring houses, and often there are small doors leading from one house to another such that a dozen houses could be visited without going outside onto a street or lane. Narrow pathways separate large composites of those small compounds. Most courtyards, tucked away here and there, don't meet the ideal of a square or rectangular-shaped floor plan. Amongst them are a handful of newer, renovated houses, often tall narrow cement structures where two-storey houses have been crammed into the narrow spaces. These are the houses belonging to the old established lineages. In them are the stools of the departed lineage heads. This is the oldest and most congested part of the town, a monument to the ancient migrants who first came to Obo.

Most of the modified old house styles are now found away from the centre of Obo, up the hill behind Pampaso and along the Twinedurase road, down the hill to the south behind Asamanya, along the Obomen road, and also north towards Baseremu. They can be compared with the traditional old style in the centre of town; tending to be larger, with larger central courtyards, and sometimes with only three or two sides of the courtyard enclosed by rooms. Usually the yards have fences topped with chevaux-de-frise around those sides not walled with rooms. The rooms too tend to be larger, although still usually opening onto the courtyard rather than into each other or out onto the street. The houses less frequently touch each other, and are all discrete structures. Most of the older ones are constructed of large swish blocks plastered with clay and whitewashed with pale colours, though many are cement. As in the centre of Obo, the roofs are constructed of galvanized iron, though a few houses have large slate shingles for roofs. Often one side of the courtyard has two stories rather than one. The pattern is obviously an adaptation of the old smaller congested style. They are more frequently built and owned by a single owner or their immediate descendants. Less frequently are they lineage houses, although a handful are temporarily used to keep stools of ancestors, when the real stool houses in the old part of town undergo extensive renovations. Many lineage heads who have stools in the centre of town have "private" residences in this style. These houses were built long after it was functional to crowd together for defence. The building of the separate Christian quarters in Baseremu, in this style, did much to introduce the pattern, though it has obviously been adopted in all other parts of town built since the 1890s. These medium-style, medium-priced houses around the congested centre of town, are a reflection of successful, but not the most wealthy, cyclically migrant farmers and traders.

Most Obo informants agree that there has been no new construction of swish houses since the early 1950s, and cement has been used as a building material since the early 1930s or late 1920s. Since then a large number of houses has been completed (and a much larger number of houses has been started) using blocks of concrete or sandcrete. The overall picture of Obo is of impressive large cement houses, in sharp contrast to the Obo villages, and even in contrast to most rural towns of Ghana. See tables III:b, c, and d. Swish buildings are still presently under construction in Kwawu hamlets and villages and in the suburbs of Nkawkaw.

The large two-storey "mansions," associated with wealthy migrant traders and cash farmers, have inside rooms leading into central internal rooms and hallways, all under one roof, as in Western societies. However, there is still some survival of the courtyard type in that a curtilage is usually found behind the large two-storey structure. Kitchens and some of the bathing and toilet facilities lead off from this courtyard. Many have (often on the second floor) indoor plumbing, kitchen with gas or electric stoves, shower and toilets, as well as the old-fashioned type facilities downstairs around the courtyard. The more modern facilities are usually reserved for the migrant owner of the house, or rented to school teachers who have come from other places. The traditional facilities, on the other hand, are reserved for the members of the owner's family, usually women; mothers, sisters, children, and sisters' children. So too the downstairs bedrooms. It is usually in these large new houses that the owners' mothers stay. They don't pay rent. If an owner cannot get members of his family to stay (he and members of the family having built too many houses in Obo for them all to be filled with relatives), the town labourers are invited to stay in some of the downstairs rooms, keeping a watch on the house in the owner's

absence. They too don't pay rent. Thus the back yard or curtilage is frequently still lived in from day to day, in a manner similar to life in traditional enclosed courtyards, while the upstairs and indoor rooms are left for migrant owners or teachers who rent those rooms. The styles of house and their construction material thus reflect the migration pattern, age and income of owners, and the social organization of the migrant community.

The antagonism towards Kwawu traders, and their expulsion from Akyem and Akwapem at the turn of the century and in 1922-3, is related to the relationship between migration and housebuilding. One of the complaints made by the residents of those host areas was that the Kwawu people made high profits there, but would not help to develop the host area by building; instead the Kwawu traders took their wealth away to build fine hometown houses. Because Kwawu traders, as strangers in Akyem and Akwapem, were reluctant to build houses or otherwise contribute to the development of Akyem and Akwapem towns, they incurred resentment and envy. The Commissioner for the Eastern Province, in a letter in November 1923 (A.D.M. 26/10/29), noted that Kwawu businessmen came to him complaining that all Kwawu traders not owning houses in Akyem Abuakwa were to be driven from town by order of the Okyenhene. Hometown housebuilding was only one aspect of this complicated set of events that illustrates problems of ethnic conflict inherent in cyclical migration.

Another aspect of housing in Obo, closely related to migration, is the large number of empty, but habitable houses. See table III:a. This is one expression of hometown ties made by cyclical migrants: their building of new homes in donor communities. Empty houses built by absent migrants have been observed elsewhere, such as in Lebonese villages (Gullick 1955), and in Jordanian villages (Lutfiyya 1966). Before the turn of the century, after a Christian neighbourhood had become well

established in Baseremu, cyclical migration (already a nuisance to evangelical missionaries) affected Obo houses. Many of the young people who had built houses on the mission land were away from Obo. "As a result, some of the houses on the station are falling into ruin," (Obrecht 1899:January 25, translated by Jenkins 1970:83).

There are almost three times as many normally empty but finished houses than there are houses being constructed. The housing capacity far exceeds the requirements of the resident population, yet new houses are still being built. The greatest number of houses under construction are in Asamenya, the largest brong, and the greatest proportion are to be found in New Town, the newest brong. The lowest proportion of empty houses, however, is to be found in New Town, where most wealthy merchants have built their houses. Rich migrants can afford to keep caretakers (who prefer the better housing in New Town to that available in the centre of the town); relatives of the owners are more likely to live in New Town if they had a choice; and teachers and other white-collar migrants rent (or their schools rent on their behalf) rooms in the large houses in New Town.

The desire to build houses in the hometown, for one's self, one's mother, and one's lineage, is a constant in all Akan communities. The relevant variable is the possession of necessary wealth in order to build. Obo is a much wealthier town than most other Akan towns. As a result, there is a high proportion of houses per person. Coupled with a high proportion of migrants to residents, the result is a high proportion of empty houses. In jealous comments, made by people in other communities, the empty houses of Obo are offered as confirmation that family members are sacrificed in order to be successful in business. It can be safely assumed that any community, if it contained so many frugal and shrewd traders as those of Obo, would likewise become wealthy and have

many empty houses. The variable is success in business, and Obo people are known to have that. Their detractors, who point to empty houses (which, in fact, are inhabited during Easter, and some Akwesidae and funeral rites) as evidence of juju, would end up open to the same accusation if they obtained what they strive for daily; i.e., wealth.

The one-quarter sample of houses surveyed in the household composition survey in Obo, 1973, revealed a migration pattern related to house ownership. No distinction was made between ownership by inheritance or ownership by construction. Among all the house "owners," females tend more than males to be resident in Obo (as is the case with the whole surveyed population). Of resident owners in Obo, females tend more than males to live in swish houses. Those males owning swish houses in Obo tend to be migrants normally resident in villages, whereas the greatest proportion of male owners living in the towns or in Accra tend to own cement houses. All the female house owners living in the towns and Accra own painted cement houses, whereas the greatest proportion of female owners living in villages own swish houses in Obo.

The greatest proportion of Obo houses, owned by either males or females, are constructed of cement rather than swish. Although the distribution, by residence, of the total number of surveyed individuals is significantly different from that for house owners, the distribution of individuals by material of house construction is proportional to that of the total number of houses. Residents are more likely to live in cement houses than returning migrants are likely to visit them, but not significantly so. Urban migrants are slightly more likely than rural migrants to stay in cement houses on their return visits. The converse also applies to swish houses. Renovated houses, constructed of both swish and cement, are more likely to attract migrant visitors, particularly from urban host communities, than they are to attract residents.

The details of these distributions are presented in tables III:a to III:h. These observations indicate some of the relationships between architecture and cyclical migration.

We now turn to the final category of technology, the communication and transport of ideas, goods, and people, before going on to examine the effects of these technical changes on division of labour and the economy of Obo.

Technology: (c) Migration and Communication

From earliest times, communication relied primarily on human feet, mouths, and ears. In order to keep in contact with his hometown, a migrant was required to walk or send someone with a message. The use of talking drums and flutes, important as they are in Akan ritual, are not used for long-distance communication, necessary for migration, as discussed here. Two kinds of changes in communications characterized the Obo migrant community: the growth and decline of trading footpaths which passed through the town, and the addition and elaboration of mechanical communication aids, permitting the dispersed community to operate over a larger area. A number of roads, along which Kwawu and other migrants walked, are significant in the growth and development of Obo, while later mechanical developments included palanquins, canoes, postal services, hammocks, bicycles, telegraphs, newspapers, railways, automobiles, telephones, wireless, and television. Four trade routes important to Kwawu society include the Afram route (from Begho to the Volta River along the north side of the escarpment then to the coast), the Sahara - Atlantic route (along which developed the Akan culture which later came to Kwawu), the Salagha route (across the Afram Plains from the escarpment via Kete Kratchi or Atebubu), and a route through Akyem Abuakwa (south of the escarpment to the coast) which competed with Afram - Volta route. Changes in these routes will be discussed prior to describing

the later, modern, technical introductions which now serve to keep Kwawu in communication with the rest of the world.

Map III:a depicts the various trade routes affecting Obo, as they appeared from ancient times.

The earliest road through Kwawu, it appears, is part of an ancient path from northern Brong Ahafo, perhaps Begho, running southeast to the junction of the Afram and Volta Rivers. Along the side of the Afram, it passed on the north side of the Kwawu escarpment. The evidence for the earliest use of the route was found by Shaw in 1944, digging in the Bosom Pra cave at Abetifi, where he found half a dozen pieces of fine-grained quartzite, "probably Akwapimian," that could not have originated closer than Anum or Koforidua. As Shaw wrote, "This is a point in confirmation of the Afram or Koforidua Scarp trade route" (Shaw 1944:12). This early trade route preceded the Akan migration to Kwawu, and lay along the northern slope of the mountains or north of them, rather than on top of them:

> The original sixteenth century or earlier route to which the Kumasi-Kwahu-Accra route was the successor, initially lead in a strict northwest-southeast direction from Begho through the Guan villages on the Afram River without touching Kumasi but probably passing through Kumawu.
>
> (Dickson 1971:111)

On map III:a, the route (a broken line) is marked, "Ancient Afram Footpath." Before the rise of Asante, the Akan on the escarpment defeated Ataara Firam and the Guan, and the route became part of Kwawu.

The Danes, Dutch, and British opened trade ports in the Accra area (cf. Kea 1967:20 ff.) and the Asante found the route down the Afram and Volta a useful alternative to the path due south through Fante territory. As for the northwest-southeast route from Begho through the Afram:

> Its later deflection through Kumasi resulted from the centripetal force exerted by the latter in its capacity as the capital of Ashanti.... The main route, although long, was an easy one because of the lowlands that marked practically the whole of its course, and persisted right through the nineteenth century.
>
> (Dickson 1971:112)

Thus Kwawu was situated on an important trade route that the Asante wanted to use to get to the coast, via the Afram:

> ....the Assianthes speculated on a road to the sea side through Crepe, or east of the Rio Volta to Fredensborg, the English fort Prampram, and the Dutch lodge Ponny, they darted not to come to Accra, because it was too close to Fante. The Aquamboes ... helped their friends the Assianthes, and were brokers in their trade.
>
> (Roemer 1960:223,
> quoted from Kea 1967:47)

The route (a solid line) is marked, "Diversion through Kumasi," on map III:a. The Danes reported two thousand Asante traders at Great Ningo, accompanied by Akwamu (Platfues et al 1748:February 16, Furley N. 38). They had to use the Afram route through Kwawu via Akwamu, to get there. The journey was not easy; it

> ....takes them at least three weeks to perform and is otherwise very inconvenient from the mountainous and marshy ways. They also ... lose such numbers of slaves in so long a journey, that of late years they have less and less been induced to pursue so tedious, troublesome and dangerous a trade.
>
> (Hippisley 1766:July 13)

The difficult journey was not that part of the journey through Afram, however. On the trip from Kumasi to Awurahae at the junction of the Afram and Volta Rivers: "Great numbers of Ashantis had to resort for purposes of trade, Ourahei, itself being only six days journey from Coomasie through an open grassy country" (Ellis 1885:315).

The Afram route to Kwawu from the northwest (which after the rise of Asante diverted through Kumasi and came through Asante-Akyem to Kwawu) continued from there to the southeast. From Kwawu there were essentially two competing routes: one north of the escarpment following the Afram

to the Volta River, and the other south of the escarpment through Akyem Abuakwa and Akwapem.

When relations between Kwawu and Akyem Abuakwa were good, the route on the south side of the escarpment developed. Although Kwawu belonged to the Asante and Akwamu alliance, whose enemies included Akyem Abuakwa, Kwawu people saw the trading advantages of British alignment, and Akyem Abuakwa had aligned with Britain. In 1875, Werner noted that the "... coastal traffic to Kwahu passes through Kukurantumi and Kibbi," (Werner 1875:May, Jenkins 1970:53). The route must have been in existence for many years. A few months later David Asante wrote that the trade through Kibi was decreasing due to slave emancipation and subsequent depopulation of the town. Asante and Kwawu traders were then passing mainly via Kukurantumi to the coast (Asante 1875:October 18, Jenkins 1970:55). The highways and railways of today (see map III:a) roughly follow the route south of the escarpment.

Political relations with the British were important in the choices of trade routes. When Kwawu declared independence from Asante, after the British defeated the Asante in 1874 (Sagranti), the Kwawu wanted to become a British protectorate. Ramseyer wrote that the Kwawu were showing great respect for the colonial government; clearing the whole road from Kwawu to Akyem in fear that they would be punished by the British (Ramseyer 1876:February 8, Jenkins 1970:57). (The British were not yet ready then to "protect" Kwawu.) In a subscript to Ramseyer's letter is a comment from missionary Buhl, noting that as a result, David Asante was able to travel from Abetifi to Akyem in only three and a half days (op. cit.). Elderly informants in Obo report that it took five to seven days to walk from Obo to Accra. After a number of years, and many delegations from Kwawu to the English government, there was a "sudden letter" (in Ramseyer's words) from the District Commisioner at Begoro, ordering

that the roads to Akyem should be cleared. When that was done, the D.C., Spilsbury Smith, came to sign the treaty between Kwawu and Britain (Ramseyer 1888:May 12, Jenkins 1970:252). The Kwawu had cleared the road twelve years too soon when they did it in 1876.

The route from Kumasi to Accra at that time did not follow the same route through Kwawu as do the railway and highway today, along the southern lowlands. It went up onto the escarpment into Kwawu Kodiabe through Obo. An acting government interpretor wrote, "the Kwahu road is a great Trade Route," (Reinhold 1893:January 20, A.D.M. 11/1445). Five years later a British travelling commissioner wrote that, "... the main trade route from Accra passes to Obo, Ahireso, Agogo, Mampong, Nkoranza, etc.," (Hull 1898:11). Because of the difficulty of climbing the hills, Hull argued for a road to be built that would bypass the highland Kwawu towns:

> A new road is wanted from Jyajete to Ahiresu, if a way could be found. At present, traders from Accra have to climb the Mpraeso hill, which is steeper and longer than that at Kwissa, take an up and down course to Obo and there make a very steep descent from the Kwahu uplands to Akwasihu en route to Ahiresu.
>
> (Hull 1898:16)

At that time Kwawu and Krepi were united as one district, and Hull argued for separate commissioners for Kwawu and Krepi because it was seven days journey to Krepi either, "... through Akim ... or the route through Awurahae which follows the Afram Valley," (op cit.). Obviously both routes could be used at that time.

In 1898, Hull was assured by the chiefs in Kwawu that the Afram River could be cleared of trees and be made navigable by canoes from its maximum height at Mankrong. He noted that there were already seventeen villages from Ekye to Awurahae on the footpath that followed the Afram River from Kwawu to the Volta River. As well as arguing that the proposed new district commissioner be charged with overseeing the building of roads by communal labour between the Kwawu towns, Hull argued that

the government should undertake to improve the road down to Mankrong and clear the Afram River of trees so that canoes could get to Akuse (Hill 1898:10-16, A.D.M. 1145).

Ansong, relying on Abetifi traditions, reports that the path to Mankrong, then on to Ajena and Akuse, was opened up by the Basle missionaries to transport the cocoa they had introduced (Ansong 1959:67). Ameyaw and Dankwa, in their tradition of Worobong, relate that during the reign of Kwawu Omanhene Kwame Apeadu Akuamoa Tuntum (1898-1905), cocoa was headloaded to the port of Mankrong to be shipped to Akuse. There is some confusion in the stories of the origin of Mankrong. Perhaps it was an unimportant rest stop and hunter's hamlet until the port was built at the turn of the century. Ansong reports that Presbyter Yaw Atta founded Mankrong in 1892 and the Basle missionaries encouraged him to make a good road there in 1901, at which time cocoa was taken by canoe to Akuse (Ansong 1959). Garlick (1967:468) also mentions Atta as the founder of the village. This contradicts Ameyaw, who suggests the hamlet was founded much earlier by Nana Asuo (a priest) for the Kwawu Tafohene, but later John Yaw Atta and Ramseyer experimented with cocoa in 1898 (Ameyaw, Amo, et al 1964). They suggest that after 1900 the Basle Mission and Messrs. Miller, opened cocoa factories (warehouses) at the new port of Mankrong.

The ancient footpath route along the Afram thus developed into a river route around the turn of the century. Hull wrote of migrant boatmen from Kpong, plying the route from Mankrong to Akuse (Hull 1906: January 30, A.D.M. 11/1445). By the time of the First World War, before the railway reached Akyem Tafo and started drawing travellers away from the Afram route, the route on the north side of the escarpment reached its peak in traffic:

> River transport from Mankrong on the Afram River to the sea is possible for about six or seven months of the year and when this route is open the road from Obo, via Mpraeso and Kwahu Tafo, to Mankrong is the busiest in the district. The European firms aforementioned have stores there and bulk of the produce of the district goes there, and is transported by canoe to Adda. Practically all the goods of these firms are brought to Kwahu by this route.
>
> (Hobbs 1917:4, A.D.M. 29/6/10)

Thus Obo was at one end of a trade route that went via the port of Mankrong, southeast down the Afram River on the north side of the escarpment, to the Volta River at the coast.

In the meantime, roads within Kwawu were kept passable. A British soldier reported:

> I visited all the principal towns in Kwahu. I found them clean, the people quiet and orderly and all the roads opened and kept properly cleared, a distinct difference to my experience in Eastern Akim.
>
> (Hawtrey 1903:488, A.D.M. 11/1445)

While the Afram River route was developing, the route south of the mountains did not disappear. In 1906, after describing the Akyem people as indolent, Crowther wrote of the Kwawu carrying the Akyems' cocoa along the Anyinam - Kukurantumi - Koforidua road to Dodowa and Akuse (Crowther 1906:177). Hull, who by this time was acting Commissioner Eastern Province, attached a letter to Crowther, commending his supervision of the road-widening between Anyinam and Mpraseo (Hull 1906: January 30, A.D.M. 11/1445). Because of this improvement:

> ... Mr. Bellon, of the Basle Mission, was able to cycle from Kyebi to Abetifi in two days in December (and the rainfall in December was five inches, and for the half year preceding, 42 inches), expanded on the road by the people has not been without fruit.
>
> (Crowther 1906:182)

Thus the first mechanical method of using Kwawu roads was introduced by the missionaries. But the bicycle was not the only way of avoiding the use of feet. In 1908, Guggisberg and his wife (op. cit.) wrote of travelling by Hammock on the Kumasi - Accra route through Obo and the

other highland Kwawu towns. Some time later, "... the difficult road from Koforidua to Mpraeso was completed in 1915," (Dickson 1917:224); and extended to Abetifi in 1917 (A.D.M. 11/654).

By the First World War, as the southern route developed, the Afram route began to decrease in importance again. By 1917 the railway had reached Akyem Tafo, and it became profitable to headload cocoa to Tafo. The Basle missionaries were deported that year and their cocoa factory at Mankrong fell into disuse. Kwasi Nyarko, who had run his store in Mankrong, wisely left it when he was enstooled as Obohene in 1919. The port continued to decrease in importance as the first automobiles came to Kwawu, and the railway continued to get closer to Kwawu, along the route south of the escarpment.

Ameyaw (and Amo, et al 1964) reported the decline of the port of Mankrong after World War One. Mankrong enjoyed some status when ferry service was begun in 1950 to cross the river to the Afram Plains, and when a bridge was built in 1955. But by then it no longer lay on the main Accra route. By 1964 there were only thirty-one swish buildings, no market, and the ruins of a concrete building, decorated with a weather-beaten sign, "Emporium of Okwawu." After the lake began to rise, the remaining villagers resettled to Mpaem and Amate (op. cit.).

The lake has yet to be developed into its potential as an efficient water route serving Kwawu, Yeji, Volta Region, and Akosombo. The railway is still an important transport system out of Kwawu. Its historic development has been summed up by Kwamina Dickson:

> Sir William Shelford also surveyed another major line from Accra to Kumasi which was meant to serve the young and thriving cocoa growing industry of the Eastern Region. The line was begun from Accra in 1909 and completed in 1923.
>
> (Dickson 1971:233)

For a short while the railway, competing with the highway, reduced the highway traffic. "Since the new railway freights came into force Albion lorries practically ceased to use the Nkawkaw - Prahso road," (C.E.P. annual report for 1929/30, A.D.M. 29/6/26). Both modes of transport are used today.

During the First World War, according to Ansong (1959), the route between Abetifi and Mpraeso was made passable for automobile traffic. But there was no way then to bring lorries up the escarpment. The first lorry in Obo was an Albion with a wooden canopy, much like the style of modern Bedford "mammy-lorries." It was brought to Obo when Nana Kwasi Nkarko was the Obohene (1919-1948). It was bought by the wofa (uncle) of one of the present regular Obo-Accra-Benz busdrivers, Yaw Tawia. The first lorry was parked up in Pampaso, where Tawia's lorry is now parked when it is in Obo. Being high behind the centre of town, it was easy to start by rolling it downhill towards Ohantrase, rather than crank-starting it. Ansong was mistaken in writing that road down to Nkawkaw was opened in 1938, because fourteen years prior the Kwawu D.C. wrote:

> The scarp road soon proved its value and traffic was heavy during the cocoa season. It was maintained during the quarter by the political department but from 1st April is to be taken over by the public works department.
>
> (Dixon 1924:16 April, A.D.M. 29/6/15)

Obviously it had been only recently built at that time. The road is now the one-way road up from Nkawkaw Hotel up to Obomen. Another one-way road down the escarpment from Atibie to Nkawkaw-Kuma was built by an American bauxite mining firm during the Second World War. Obo must have seen its first lorry in 1924, just after the train reached Nkawkaw.

At present there are numerous lorry routes which connect Obo to the rest of the world. Five Obo residents drive Benz-buses to Accra. They leave the town at regular times, from 3:30 a.m. daily, first driving around Obo picking up passengers and freight, then driving directly to Accra in less than three hours.

There are two Kwawu stations in Accra: one at "Kwawu Corner" in Kantamanto market, the other at National Liberation Circle lorry park. The Obo lorries wait there with the other Kwawu lorries, or pick up passengers and freight by informal arrangements, especially from the Kimberly Avenue area where are located many stores operated by Kwawu traders. A few Kwawu lorry drivers do not use the lorry parks where they must pay a small admission fee, but rely on their personal networks of friends and kinsmen in Accra. As well as these Benz-buses to Accra, there are 15 or 20 small Datsun lorries (capacity 14 passengers) and three taxis which ply the Obo - Mpraeso - Nkawkaw - Obo route. From the commercial centre, Nkawkaw, lorries to Accra or Kumasi can be found at the main lorry park or at a petrol station next to "Obo Station." Lorries to Obo and to the villages on the southern lowlands also run from the Obo Station in Nkawkaw, at the Pankese road junction. Government transport and of course the train also run from Nkawkaw either southeast to Accra or northwest to Kumasi. One Obo Benz-bus, owned by the chief, picks up passengers in Obo and goes directly to Kumasi in a manner similar to the regular Obo - Accra buses.

Two ancient trade routes, no longer extant, also contributed to the growth of Obo and the development of a dispersed migrant community. It is interesting to note that all Akan matrilineages trace their origin to places near one of them, an ancient north-south route. The trade route, described by Wilks (1962:338) ran from Elmina and other coastal markets through Begho (50 kilometers east of Wenchi) to the Sahara. As a

melting pot of many cultures, Mande Dyula, Guan, etc., it was the area of original development and expansion, if not the origin, of Akan culture. The interest in trade that characterized people living on that route has coloured subsequent Akan behaviour. Throughout their history, Kwawu people have had a reputation as shrewd migrant traders. When that ancient Begho - Elmina trade route was disturbed by wars and slave raids, those people escaped to the relative safety of Kwawu, which, as noted, was located on another trade route. The interests of those who survived the migration to Kwawu have had some influence on the modern character and behaviour of Kwawu people; they are still reputed to be interested in trade.

Another trade route which contributed to Kwawu development was the one through the ancient Guan capital, Gyaneboafo, on the Afram Plains. North of Kete Kratchie, or alternatively, Atebubu, the market town of Salaga was the northern terminal where Kwawu sold kola and salt, and bought slaves and handicrafts. Nineteenth century descriptions of this trade route were made by Basle missionaries.[18] The old trade route to the north, traversed by some elderly Kwawu informants when they were younger, has not developed into a modern communication route. Kola, now

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18. David Asante made an expedition from Abetifi to Salaga, via Kete Krachi in 1877. He wrote that the way was then opened but no one wanted to go with him for fear of robbers, elephants, lions, and leopards. The first day he and his group walked to Nkwantanan (lit. four junctions). He was annoyed that it cost him and his party 1½ shillings to cross the Afram. Although he could have done it on foot (it was January and in the dry season), the Kwawu had made the path go through the deepest part so as to make money. It then took five days to reach Pae whose capital, Ahenkuro, was on the east bank of the Volta River, and north of the Oti River, both of which they had to cross. Shortly north of Pae, Asante left the last of Kwawu territory, reaching the country of Kratchie, whom he said were refugees from Larteh, his hometown in Akwapem. He compared the Kratchie to the Pae, whom he said were quite similar, except the Kratchie, unlike the Pae, kept their roads and villages clean (Asante 1878, Jenkins 1970:79).

grown in Kwawu, finds its way to the north via Kumasi, and it is unlikely that the old route will flourish because of the escarpment, lake, and plains.

The railway and highway are now the successors to the ancient route from Kumasi to Accra. Both lie entirely south of the Mampong - Kwawu - Koforidua escarpment. Daily four passenger trains and four freight trains travel each way to Accra and Kumasi while countless lorries ply the highway. The town of Nkawkaw thus has become the transportation centre which has links with the rest of Kwawu and with the rest of the world's urban communication network.

The first technical changes in the use of the trade routes came about with the establishment of postal services by the Swiss missionaries. Ansong noted that the Basle Mission introduced the postal system into Kwawu at Abetifi (Ansong 1959:76). Some letters remain in the Ghana National Archives (A.D.M. 11/1445), Accra, dictated by various Kwawu chiefs, and written to government officials in Accra. The postal service was taken over by the colonial government in Accra, after the turn of the century. The government was not interested in initiating postal office construction unless the townspeople participated. Obo people felt that a post office would be an honourable symbol of their modernization. Money was raised at a "harvest" donated mainly by visiting migrant traders and farmers at an outdoor Akwesidae ceremony, as described in chapter six. The post office was then built with voluntary labour, while supplies were obtained with the money raised at the harvest. The colonial government then accepted the invitation to operate it. At present there is a postmaster, clerk, and part-time telephone technician. Mail is transported to and from the central post office at Mpraeso by contract with a private lorry owner. At Mpraeso the mail is resorted and transported to major centres by government mail trucks. Some mail is

sent privately avoiding the post office, through kinsmen and friends, usually lorry drivers, but also passengers, who travel between Obo and the host communities.

In Obo the post office operates a telephone switchboard connected to two telephones in Twinedurase, and seven in Obo (the palace, the secondary school, the Anglican and Presbyterian pastors, and three merchants usually resident in Accra). Telegrams may be sent from the Obo post office from where they are telephoned to the destination.

Two national, government-controlled, daily newspapers are delivered to a contract distributor who lives near station. News usually includes political speeches by national leaders, lottery, football, and other sports results. Potential migrants read advertisements of job opportunities and entertainment that attract them to the city, while migrants look for funeral announcements of kinsmen and hometown association meetings which bring them on visits to their home. A copy of each newspaper is always available in the "Information Centre," a room in the chief's palace staffed by an officer of the National Information Services, while other copies are subscribed by teachers in Obo schools and literate returned migrants.

A number of radio receiver boxes are found in Obo, wired to the national broadcasting services combined with a local announcement studio in Mpraeso. Choice of programming is limited to on, off, and volume control. One box is located in the inner (fourth) court of the palace, one in the lorry roundabout in the Ohantrase public square, and others in the courtyards of a dozen or so important elders and lineage houses in the older central sections of the town close to the post office and palace (Ohantrase and parts of Pampaso and Asamenya). There are none in the newer parts of town away from the centre. Fees, payable to a clerk who comes to Obo post office from Mpraeso, are 50 np per month.

Transistor wireless sets can be found in the majority of the large cement houses, and some of the old swish houses. Echoes heard while walking down the streets during prime wireless time, indicate that the usual choice of programme is the commercial services of the Ghana National Broadcasting system. Like the newspapers, funeral announcements are important for cyclical migrants.

There are twelve television sets operating in Obo (1974), four in Sikafoamantem, the wealthy section of New Town, one (Prince Villa) in Begoro on the main road into Obo, three in Baseremu, the Presbyterian section of Bronoso, two in Chach, the elite area of Asamenya, and two in Ohantrase. The two in Asamenya belong to the secondary school, one of which was a quiz competition prize, the other a gift from overseas. In Ohantrase one belongs to the chief and the other belongs to the wealthy Tigare priest. Of the remaining eight, all but one belong to rich merchants who have firms in Accra, and timber, farming, and commercial concerns all over the country. One TV set belongs to the wife of one such merchant, and like her house, was given to her by her husband.

These various communication systems keep Obo residents in contact with the rest of the world. All the above forms of media (private and public) are used to announce important funerals, bringing migrants back to Obo as required. Home ties are maintained by the use of the whole range of communication technology. The communication system is thus the "nerve" system of the total community of Obo residents and migrants.

This completes a description of technology, its changes, and their role in Obo cyclical migration and the development of the extended community. Technology is based on skilled labour, and we now turn to the results of acquiring specialized skills, the division of labour. In essence, migration is labour migration, so our objective is twofold, to

see labour as the motivating force of spatial mobility, and to see how division of labour contributes to the economy of the dispersed community. We now turn to the acquisition of skills that leads to occupational differentiation.

Work: (a) The Development of Skills

Changes in technology, by a process of cumulative additions, had two important effects on the Obo community. First, these changes required and encouraged new modes of allocation, adding a market exchange system to an existing distribution system based on prestations (gifts) related to kinship obligations. These had important consequences in growth of trade activities, especially over longer distances. Second, these changes resulted in an increase in the degree of division of labour, an important element of social differentiation. Both of these led to the development of stratification (based on variations in access to different socio-economic statuses) and both contributed to a growing class system. These changes were also important factors in the migration pattern in two ways. First, from ancient times the expanding trade routes required and facilitated cyclical migration. Second, new occupational opportunities encouraged and required labour migration, which also includes an important cyclical element.

Two ancient forms of division of labour changed. The oldest forms based on biological facts of age and sex did not disappear with changes in technology and economy; they continue with modifications, as important variables. Slavery, an important historical form of division of labour and forced migration, did decline, because of cash-cropping, the growth of a wage labour market, and an increase in urban occupations. Pawning, however, as an expression of economic inequality, and as a method of converting labour to cash, survived in modified forms such as fostering and apprenticeship. Division of labour is now, however, mainly based on

differential skills, so it is to the acquisition of those skills, and the role of migration, that we now look.

When the Basle missionaries opened their station in Kwawu, "... they were impressed by the industriousness of the Abetifi people, seeing there at least one weaver; spinning, dying, carding; a maker of wooden bowls; there was a lot of mat making going on, and there was a blacksmith too," (Werner 1875:May 6, translated by Jenkins 1970:53). Europeans learned about Kwawu from the religious journals published by the Basle Mission in Switzerland:

> Kwahu had been an Ashanti province. The land was densely populated and the people very industrious planting rice, corn, yam and cotton; spinning and weaving their own cloths, weaving mats, dying cloth with indigo, manufacturing wooden bowls and doing blacksmith work. Soap was made locally, but salt and dried fish were imported from the coast. Money was scarce.
>
> (Der Evangelische Heidenbote 1875:83, translated by deBrunner 1967:198)

Just before Kwawu signed the treaty with Britain, one missionary reported that the Kwawu people made mattresses of cotton wool from the silk cotton tree (Tschopp 1887:April 16, Jenkins 1970:237-8). Visiting Obomen in 1908, the Guggisbergs noted the weaving of cloth, "of a superior kind," and the manufacture of brass bowls, pots, and trays, with rough but artistic designs (Moore and Guggisberg 1909:312). The Kwawu D.C. later reported that, "The natives are clever at basket work," (Hobbs 1917). These observations were made in the era before the railway, when highland Kwawu towns, still on the main Kumasi - Accra trade route, attracted many migrant artisans. Kwawu towns later became donor rather than host locations, and industries shifted to the southern cocoa towns and Accra.

At present, a few traditional skills are still applied in Kwawu villages. Traps, mats, and baskets are made from oil palm branches, for local use and for sale outside Kwawu. Medicines described in chapter

six are still manufactured in Kwawu. The other crafts mentioned above are now replaced by factories elsewhere.

The introduction of specific technical skills by migrants who moved to Kwawu is recounted in oral tradition. At Worobong (on the Afram), Kofi Botwe and ten others migrated from Akwamu to carve canoes. They now form the Werempe division of Worobong (Ameyaw and Dankwa 1964). Technology introduced by migrant Ewe fishermen on the Afram was noted above. The Ewe are also responsible for introducing the manufacture of Adwuku wicker baskets, later learned by Akan in Kwawu (Ameyaw, Ammo, Ampoma, and Fodwo 1964). Some gold-making techniques were brought into Kwawu by Kwawu migrants who had gone away to the coast and returned with new skills. The lost-wax method of casting the famous Asante gold-weights out of brass was formerly also used for making gold jewellery. Being more expensive, gold required a more refined method of casting so as to lose less dust. Akan migrants to the coast discovered a technique in which the ocean cuttlefish is used.[19] All the migrant, and the two resident Obo goldsmiths, now use the cuttlefish method.

Not all skills practised in host locations of migrant Kwawu found their way back to Kwawu. Often it was more economical to transport some goods to Kwawu from their area of specialization. Wooden stools, for example, politico-religious symbols of gerontocracy and ancestor homage, are not made in Kwawu. Obo elders travel to Ahyia, ten kilometres north of Kumasi, to buy them. Secular stools, commonly in daily domestic use, in contrast, are made by migrants temporarily in Obo.

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19. A lead model of the ring or other item of jewellery was made first. It was pressed into two smoothly sanded pieces of cuttlefish to form a concave shape of the desired item. The two pieces of cuttlefish were then filled with gold dust and sealed together, and heated to melt the gold. The technique used on the coast has been described in detail by Wild (1931).

One effect of the forty-year residence of Basle missionaries in Kwawu was the introduction of skills that hastened the process of occupational differentiation. Manufacture of some goods was not taught in Kwawu but many other skills were imported. "Most of the present craftsmen say they owe their knowledge to the old church members who learned carpentry, bricklaying, handiwork, and many other skills from the missionaries," (Ansong 1959:76). The first objective of the missionaries was to train local people in skills necessary to build the mission station. At first they brought skilled workers from the coast (Schmid 1886: September 23, Jenkins 1970:244), but two sawyers (from outside Kwawu) left the work, although they were getting wages higher than those obtainable at the coast (Weimer op. cit.). The missionaries then trained Kwawu artisans, mainly in construction trades.

Wage labour was quickly accepted in Kwawu when the Basle missionaries introducted it. Already familiar with bargaining practices that manipulate forces of supply and demand, the Kwawu soon saw their own labour as another marketable commodity. As the missionaries lamented, "Once their workers had got a certain degree of skill they were showing themselves quite unashamed about demanding more pay, and if they did not get it, leaving the work," (Weimer 1876:August 3, Jenkins 1970:59). The notion of labour solidarity came close on the heels of wage labour:

> During the construction of the mission station the shrewd Kwahu labourers went on strike for four weeks, not wanting to work for 6 d. a day. A compromise was reached: the workers agreed to work from 6-11 a.m. and from 1-4 p.m. daily and to accept 9 d. as a daily wage.
>
> (Der Evangelische Heidenbote 1878:5, translated by deBrunner 1967:199)

Further Basle influence on labour economy came after the purchase, in 1881 (for £6:8) of mission land in Mpraeso (the present site of the district offices). People from the Abetifi mission station were then sent to saw timber on the Mpraeso land. Both Abetifi and Mpraeso people

learned to make house shingles and the technique became widely employed throughout Kwawu. At present galvanized iron sheets are used to roof most houses on the escarpment, so wooden shingles are now seen only rarely.

By the first decade of this century, the Basle missionaries took a more formal or organized approach to teaching technical skills in Kwawu:

> Abetifi was one of the head stations of the Basle Mission. The little settlement on the hill opposite the town comprised a large double-storied bungalow for the missionaries, several school houses for children and adults, a seminary for training the native teachers, workshops for teaching carpentry, a large stone church in course of construction, and about fifty houses occupied by Christian natives.
>
> (Moore and Guggisberg 1909:318)

Basle vocational training, then, has left its mark in Kwawu as many present craftsmen other than Ewe and Fante migrants, were trained by people trained by the missionaries. Later, after the Second World War, the Catholic missionaries trained plumbers and mechanics. Now it is done more formally at a Catholic technical school at Kukurantumi.

Thus migration into Kwawu, as well as cyclical migration from Kwawu, contributed to an increase in occupational differentiation.

The acquisition of certain technical skills plays an important part in the life cycle and cyclical migration model. As Garlick pointed out, tailoring and sandal-making were used as a "stepping stone," to trade (Garlick 1967:474). The acquisition of technical skills, important as they were for the economy of the community, can be seen as only part of the individual's life cycle from birth (through childhood training, journeyman, artisan, trader, farmer) to becoming an ancestor. The acquisition of skills as a stage in life cycle changes of status applies to gunsmithing, goldsmithing, and a multitude of other skills, as well as to those mentioned by Garlick. The function of life cycle stages in cyclical migration is discussed in chapter four.

One development, noted by Garlick, was that of "twa tae" (lit. "cut tyre"), making sandals out of used lorry tyres, which the Kwawu (most frequently at Kantamanto market) began in the 1920s. These sandals were cheap and therefore sold well sa a substitute for the traditional ahenemaa (royal) sandals. The industry, although it still continues (there is one rubber sandal maker and repairer in the Obo market, and a number in Accra), drastically declined in the 1950s. Raw materials became scarce after a new demand for spare tyres developed, when they could be retreaded and resold. Imported chali wati (a Ga term meaning "Charlie let's go," signifying the rapidity with which they could be put on), or plastic sandals (thongs or go-aheads) competed on the sandal market, driving out "twa tae" artisans.

In his study of changing kinship patterns and urbanization in a Turkish town, Magnarella (1972) mentioned that the impact of a modern sugar refinery was the most important factor in the increase in social and economic integration and in the closer contacts with the more urbanized centres of Turkey. Obo did not have a dramatic introduction, such as a sugar factory, and it is unlikely that any of the central Kwawu towns will be sites for large factories soon, due to their location on the escarpment. Nevertheless, the piece-meal introduction of industries over the last century, and more dramatically the coming of the railway to Nkawkaw, have resulted in an impact of modern technology to Kwawu. A sawmill and pulpboard factory at Nkawkaw (built by Kwawu merchants usually resident in Accra) will also continue to affect Kwawu society. These changes introduced more specialized division of labour and a greater complexity of economic organization.

Many of the new technical skills, along with training and education, were introduced by missionaries and then by colonial administrators as well as by returning cyclical migrants. Sexual division of

labour was important. Cash crops were added to a traditional agrarian system of (female) production for domestic consumption. Cocoa, the most important of these crops, was at first of interest only to (male) Kwawu carriers and traders migrating to the developing "cocoa" towns and only later important to Kwawu farmers who migrated to develop cocoa plantations. Food crops, in contrast, were grown long before by Kwawu, for sale to their austral neighbours, and still remain an important element in trade and migration of women. One important element to consider is the high proportion of males who migrate, which has important consequences for women left to farm in the hometown area.

Both migration and the growing class system can be better understood by looking at another biological factor, the process of aging. Most important is the career cycles of individuals as they get older, which in the aggregate constitute the pattern of spatial location and occupational differentiation for the total community. A common career pattern, after training, is for individuals to use artisan activity as a stepping stone to trade, and then use their trading profits as a means of access to farm ownership. An important caveat in looking at occupational structures, and a factor in continuous geographic mobility, consists of simultaneous multiple occupational pursuits. Numerous second and third occupations or business, often located in various locations, makes it difficult to classify people as having any one particular occupation. There is thus a close relationship between social, spatial, and occupational mobility.

The notion of adaptive continuity may be useful in understanding the development of the extended Obo community. Mesthane (1970), when writing about industrialization, argued that for each negative consequence of technological innovation there is opportunity to realize more fully than before existing values. The desire to maintain hometown

identity, while spending productive years as a migrant, is only one value that industrialization and commercialization permit to thrive in the modern Obo community. Perhaps, even further, because increasing industrialization is related to greater anomie (cf. Durkheim), such traditional values must be maintained so as to avoid total alienation.

Accelerating industrialization, characterized at first by the decline of slavery and the rise of cash-cropping in the nineteenth century, followed by post-war mechanical industrialization, did not destroy the traditional (cyclical) pattern of migration. Technological improvements permitted the interpenetrating community to operate over longer distances and penetrate more complex (e.g., urban) host locations. They also permitted more people and time to be spent away from the hometown.

Four decades ago, Fortes noted that industrial techniques acquired by migrant Africans working for Europeans could not function independently of the proper national apparatus, a relevant social context and the recurrent situation in which they were appropriate (Fortes 1938:87, Watson 1961:294); i.e., economy is based on social organization. Marxists, in contrast, say the social order is based on an economic foundation, and by implication mean an economic system based on a technological (material) foundation. Information available about the Obo community supports a position somewhere between those two assertions. Industrialization and social change mutually interacted. New technology, the most easily introduced dimension of culture, has an immediate effect on resource allocation and labour division. Other dimensions of culture (e.g., social organization, ideology, and ritual) are less easily introduced until economic conditions permit their adoption. In spite of some apparent effects of industrialization on Obo kinship (detailed in chapter five) and migration, both manifest continuity with their past forms.

Division of labour in Kwawu was introduced piece-meal over many years. Cyclical migration was an important element in that growth. Let us now turn to the result of those changes; i.e., the present occupational structure of the dispersed Obo community.

Work: (b) Division of Labour

Most Obo migrants explain why they don't live in Obo by saying they left in search of work. Labour migration constitutes the main motivating force in dispersing the community. As described above, more and varied opportunities for work have opened up and the search for them results in labour migration. We now turn to the variations in jobs. Occupational differentiation merely means the degree to which jobs vary. When everyone farmed there was little differentiation apart from that based on age and sex. Now there is considerable division of labour. It is accepted that as people specialized there were greater returns to the community as a whole: specialties complemented one another. The variation at any one time can be seen as the occupational structure of the community. As will be shown below, migration (based on the life cycle) is one factor which complicates occupational differentiation.

The occupational structure of Obo is not static. Census data and statistics compiled from simple questionnaires and surveys are designed for societies (as in the West) where people tend to have only one job at a time and hold on to it for a large proportion of their careers. Perhaps they change employers, or receive promotions, but generally they remain in one industry or occupational category. That is not the case for Obo migrants. There is considerable variation over the working life of a migrant, and a general pattern, described below, can be detected. A tendency to have more than one source of income operating simultaneously will also be described. In spite of these caveats, census material and statistics compiled of Obo residents and migrants from the household

composition survey may be used to construct a model of occupational structure and dynamics in the extended community.

The career pattern, generalized from life histories, links the dispersed community together. The first stage would be infancy, where the child is dependent upon his mother, then on matrilineal relatives in the hometown. School comes next and children will be found in the hometown when school is open, and in the villages during vacation. They work on farms, around the house, and sometimes in shops and stalls, not for pay but as a duty associated with their status. Apprenticeship usually follows, and is also associated with low income (only "chop money"), but with migration away from the hometown. The artisan and craftsman category usually comes next, then blends into petty trade, followed perhaps by more large-scale entrepreneurial activities. These stages may be bypassed by some migrants who obtain civil servant jobs, although part-time trading activities are not unknown among the latter. Later, perhaps as a form of old age political, social, and economic security, profits and incomes are diverted into farming. Land may be obtained by outright purchase or by the more hazardous method of financing a close kinsman (or self) to "inherit" a stool owning land and other revenue-producing property. This is described in chapter five. The final stages of the career, farm management, living off the proceeds of farming, and retirement, are associated with the return home of the migrants. Life histories reveal a much more complicated pattern than this, but it forms the essence of occupational dynamics. With this model in mind, we can turn to the census and survey statistics on occupational structure. These are presented in tables III:i to III:r.

The multitude of occupations engaged in today can be grouped into eight categories, roughly descending in prestige: (a) professional-technical, (b) administrative-executive, (c) clerical, (d) sales,

(e) farming, (f) transport, (g) craftsmen, and (h) service. These categories do not correspond to the six categories of career stages of Obo migrants from infancy: (a) school children, (b) apprentices, (c) artisans, (d) traders, (e) farmers, (f) retired. Nevertheless, the major occupations of employed persons constitute an important variable related to migration; comparison should be made between Obo residents, Obo migrants, Kwawu people as a whole, and the population of Ghana.

The category "professional-technical" includes persons possessed by local deities, and thus the percentage found resident in Obo is relatively high. The "administrative-executive" category for Kwawu people is slightly higher than for the whole population of Ghana, and this is reflected in the Obo community. Understandably, few are found resident in Obo and the usual place of residence for most is in Accra. It is significant that the proportion of this category who maintain hometown ties to Obo is not lower than for less prestigious, less Western-oriented occupations. "Clerical" workers, like their executive bosses, also tend to reside in Accra; Obo and Kwawu people do not significantly differ from the total Ghanaian population. The first three occupational categories are dominated by males, in contrast to the fourth, sales and trading, which attracts a much higher proportion of females. What distinguishes Kwawu from the total Ghanaian population then is a high proportion of males in trade activity which helps to account for the reputation that Kwawu have for trading.

In contrast to the reputation Kwawu have away from home, by far the largest occupational category of Kwawu is "farming." Paradoxically, there are a large number of Obo farmers normally resident in Accra. This is not because the figures are for the Accra Region which includes the rural outskirts of the city. Obo farmers in Accra include women accompanying their urban husbands who keep a garden and prefer to be

known as farmers rather than as housewives, and include Obo men who live in Accra where they or a close relative keep a store, while their main source of income comes from cocoa farms elsewhere.

"Transport," (mainly driving passenger and freight lorries) is an occupation dominated by males. It is favoured more by the Kwawu than by the Ghanaian total population, and more by Obo men than by the rest of Kwawu. "Craftsmen," observed by Garlick (op. cit.) to be a stepping stone (occupation) to trade, is lower for the Obo community than for all Kwawu people, and lower for Kwawu than for the rest of the country's population. Obo craftsmen mostly are tailors and seamstresses, while the resident Obo population includes (non-Obo) migrants from other places (i.e., "strangers") who work as carpenters, bricklayers, and so on. Service occupations, both middle prestige jobs like firemen, police, and military, as well as cooks, stewards, and "house maids," attract proportionally less Obo people than other Kwawu, and less Kwawu than other Ghanaian people.

These categories must be examined in closer detail to understand the roles of careers, life cycles, and cyclical migration. As Obo migrants change jobs, they change residence, progressing through life in the hometown or various host locations. At any one time the total population is an aggregate of individuals progressing through these occupational stages that are associated with their home or away status within the extended community. For comparative purposes, we can look at statistics of major occupations in spite of the complexities hidden by them.

Compared to urban populations, such as in Accra, the Obo resident population is not highly differentiated. Compared to most rural villages in Ghana, including most of its own smaller satellite villages, Obo is more occupationally differentiated. It is about the same at present as its largest satellite, Kwawu Praso. The largest activity

consists of school-aged children, while the second largest consists of adult women engaged mainly in farming, domestic work, and some trade. The tables presented here do not make this quite so apparent as would a stroll through Obo in the late afternoon after a quiet day. The schools pour out multitudes of uniformed students who fill the streets while the women are returning from the nearby farms and gardens. The town suddenly appears full of naught but women and children. The migrant sector of the Obo community is much more diverse in its occupational structure, particularly in urban areas.

Individuals work at numerous enterprises simultaneously and consecutively. Urban workers and traders are usually planning to farm when they acquire land and capital. Garlick (1971:111-3) noted the "syphoning off of funds" to their farms, by Kwawu traders. Even this is not the complete picture. Part-time work is the norm, not the exception. People classed as school children may also be farmers and food hawkers when not in school. A young Obo woman may be a clerk or teacher in Accra during the day and operate a cigarette or small provisions kiosk in the evening while she tends to her children and prepares food. A small saw-miller may own a cocoa farm somwhere, a truck farm elsewhere, while he has a brother looking after his store in a small town, and someone drives his lorry. These examples are not imaginary but are people met in the course of research. Most artisans and teachers with whom I talked were considering a change in occupation, and I found a forty-year-old former domestic servant apprenticed to a blacksmith friend in Nkawkaw.

Kwawu people, used to the requirements of listing their one most important occupation, do not mention their subsidiary interests and occupations without prompting. This habit was illustrated by the "help" given by middle school teachers where a short questionnaire was administered. They told their students to fill in only one occupation each for

their father, mother, and guardian. In contrast to the census data, the Kwawu, like many southern Ghanaians, are continually looking for new entrepreneurial opportunities, are often looking forward to changing their occupation, and are usually involved in any number of once-and-for-all deals such as the sale of a car, or a single shipment of goods, or sime similar hustle. Life history data of older retired Kwawu in Obo substantiate this sketch of continual occupational mobility. Participant observation with Kwawu in Accra, seeing their daily life, substantiates the notion that they are continuously looking for, and are willing to take advantage of small business ventures, and are always on the lookout for new "lines" of business or occupation.

The element of cyclical migration in the Obo community and multiple residential locations further complicates the sketch of its occupational structure. The Obo chief, for example, a former police sergeant until his enstoolment, does not attend only to his political office in Obo. Apart from his farms near Obo and near numerous Obo satellite villages, he also operates a luggage and provisions store in Obo, buying from producer contacts he'd met while away as a policeman, owns rental property in Kumasi, and manages two long-distance lorries. He also has business interests in Accra, in a few southern towns, and in Kumasi. The Obo Kuruntehene spends most of his time in Accra where he runs a hardware shop at the timber market, and visits his farmlands and firewood cutting operations on his lands near Obo and near satellite villages in the Pra River station area. These are not isolated examples; most elders in the Obo court have economic interests outside Obo which often call them away. Only a few very aged elders spend all their time resident in Obo. Because of their varied occupations, it is difficult to classify the residence of these men.

A number of women, as well as working on their farms, sell cooked food or raw vegetables in the market (described below), in store fronts that are part of their own homes or that they rent on the main streets of Obo, or else on tables in front of the stores. Some prepare food such as kenkey made by steaming balls of fermented corn dough, lapiwa made from dried cassava flour, or deep-fried or roasted starches such as plantain, yam, and cassava. These are usually sold with smoked fish and pepper sauce. Most sales are made in the evening at "station," where bread with margarine, and, at busy times, hot beverages are sold at tables brought out for the occasion.

Migration is an important factor in the sales turnover (of these foods) which drastically increases with large influxes of visiting Obo migrants: large funerals, Akwasidae, or Easter. The custom of fasting during the funeral of a close relative does not apply to eating such snacks in privacy. People who do not want the sound of fufu being pounded to emanate from their houses therefore patronize these petty enterprises during funerals of their kinsmen. Other part-time food specialists find more regular business in the daytime selling small portions of inexpensive food to the children of Obo migrants. When their guardians go off to farm, the children, on their way to school, buy a few pennies worth of food from these women. Part-time food preparers and sellers reflect the variations in individual occupations, the sending of children of migrants to the hometown, and the ebb and flow of migrants visiting the hometown. The tables which refer to the major occupational concerns of individuals demonstrate the migration factor in the variability of occupational differentiation within the total dispersed community. Part-time jobs and enterprises noted above would complicate the picture further. A glance at the mere number of different jobs shows that differentiation among Obo residents is relatively low,

whereas among Obo migrants it is higher.

The amount of divisions of labour in that segment of the Obo community which is usually resident in Accra, is considerably higher than among Obo migrants living everywhere else; including both rural and urban areas within and outside Ghana. This reflects the high level of differentiation in the host community (Birmingham et al 1966:101). The professional category for Obo residents appears to be greater than that for Obo migrants who visit Obo. That is because the category includes teachers who are relatively numerous among the employed population resident in Obo, teaching at the numerous schools. Because they are at younger stages of their careers, migrant Obo teachers cannot afford frequent visits to Obo before they find more remunerative occupations. Looking at specific occupations within the category, one finds engineers, doctors, pharmacists, and nurses, none of whom reside in Obo, but (as cyclical migrants) are more likely to be found in urban areas. Clergymen and akomfo, persons possessed by local African deities (also in the professional category), like the teachers, are more likely to be found in rural areas, including the hometown Obo.

The two subsequent occupational categories, white-collar jobs at either the executive or clerical levels, are also urban-oriented. Only one clerk resident in Obo was recorded on the one-quarter sample of houses, which missed the two postal clerks and those working in the secondary school. As the table shows, within the surveyed sample, the majority of white-collar workers in these two categories were found to be usually resident away from Obo, mainly in Accra. Administrators account for a smaller proportion of the Ghanaian total than of the Kwawu male working population. Of these, Kwawu tend more to take government rather than commercial posts. The proportion of Kwawu clerical workers in all jobs is almost twice as high as the proportion for all employed

Ghanaians. A smaller proportion of all Ghanaian workers are clerks than the proportion of employed Kwawu who are classed as clerical workers.

The reputation that Kwawu have as successful traders in Accra is not faithfully reflected in the occupational distribution of Kwawu migrants in Accra. Kwawu people in Accra, as well as including traders, are clerks, factory employees, independent artisans, teachers, and professionals. Their occupations are not strikingly different from those of Ghana as a whole and very closely resemble those of other southern Ghanaians. However, the reputation is justified, not by the numbers of Kwawu who are or are not traders, but by the relatively large proportion who are not only traders but successful traders in Accra. At first glance the Ghana 1960 Census occupation statistics also seems to contradict this reputation. Only 2,240 Kwawu men and 3,850 women were reported to be classed as "sales-workers" including working proprietors, whereas 67,810 of the Ghanaian male population and 278,540 women are classed as traders (Special Report E, Tribes in Ghana, 1964 table 26, page 114-115). These statistics are deceptive at first glance.

The occupational category most relevant to the stereotype of Kwawu and Obo people which is held by non-Kwawu people, is that of sales workers. It is significant then that among the employed sectors of the Obo dispersed community, one-fifth of those resident in Obo, one-half of those in Accra, and one-quarter of the whole sample, are classed in this category. As the table shows, of course, they are less likely to migrate to rural areas. In the urban areas, traders more than other workers are most likely to come into contact with people of other ethnic groups, often customers, who reinforce the image of Kwawu people as traders.

The complementary category, however, farming, accounts for the largest number of employed people in the Obo community. Half the employed Obo residents as well as half the total dispersed sample are

farmers. The smaller proportion usually resident in urban areas is offset by the larger proportion in villages. This information complements Hill's (1970) essay on ethnic occupational specialization of migrants in which she describes the Kwawu as "Miscellaneous Unclassifiable" but admits they are, "... preeminently engaged in cocoa farming," because of "... 45% of all occupied males being farmers or abusa labourers ... mainly the former." Unfortunately, as she notes, there is, "... little information on the extent to which Kwahu (sic) cocoa farmers are migrant, the ethnic group is here left unclassified," (Hill 1970:13). Perhaps this study will explain more about the relevance of cocoa farming to Kwawu migration, or vice versa. Later in table three she notes that the Kwawu are, "... second highest after Shai (44%) ... in percent of males over 15 years ... engaged in cocoa farming." Polly Hill is responsible for making the Akwapim and Krobo famous, amongst sociologists, as migrant cocoa farmers (Hill 1963), but here (op. cit. 1970) shows their relevant percentages to be lower than that for Kwawu. In the other important category, trading, Hill notes that the Kwawu are higher than all other southern Ghanaians. The Kwawu had a much lower per cent in trade, however, than long-distance migrants; Hausa, Konkomba, Songhai, Zabrama, and Yoruba; from the north and from Nigeria.

Another perspective on the relationship between Kwawu trade and migration is found in Fiawoo's survey of the Ewe village of Tefle. Fiawoo found twelve Akan males, among whom ten were Kwawu. Four were petty entrepreneurs: one ran a chop bar, two ran refreshment bars, and one was a metalworker. The rest were school children of unemployed. The Kwawu were representative of migrants for, as Fiawoo wrote, "... immigrants hardly ever engage in primary or secondary occupations, or do not attach any importance to them," (Fiawoo 1961:67-8). In table 24 he recorded six Kwawu females engaged in trade, one craftsman, one other,

and nine unemployed (op. cit.).

As the tables (III:p and III:q) show, the two categories, trading and farming, which together played an important role in the economic history of Obo and Kwawu, are solidly represented. They account for three-quarters of the employed population of the modern Obo migrant community. The 1960 Census report, cited above, provides some interesting comparable data for all Kwawu people in Ghana. Unfortunately, comparable data are not available on the 1970 census. The 2,240 Kwawu men employed in sales account for nine per cent of the Kwawu labour force, whereas the 278,540 males in Ghana account for only four per cent of the total Ghanaian labour force. The absolute number of salesmen and proprietors of other ethnic categories may be higher, but the proportion of Kwawu men engaged in small shopkeeping is much higher.

Ghana, being an agricultural nation, has a high proportion of farmers, although the census does not distinguish between production for domestic consumption and production for sale. Most Ghanaian farmers combine these two types. The proportion is about the same: 62 per cent of all Ghanaian working men are farmers and 65 per cent of all Kwawu working men are farmers. But very few Kwawu are engaged in truck cropping; five per cent, compared to the national figure of 29 per cent. The majority of Kwawu farmers are cocoa farmers. Whereas only 20 per cent of the Ghanaian labour force is involved in cocoa, 45 per cent of the Kwawu labour force is engaged in the cocoa industry. Cocoa-growing is quite profitable and contributes to the Kwawu reputation for being relatively wealthy as an ethnic group. Some profit gained in cocoa-farming is invested in descendants' retail business (see chapter five). The rain forest climate and the tsetse fly make cattle-raising impossible in Kwawu. Of the 5,800 men and 660 women engaged in livestock and poultry management in Ghana, only 20 Kwawu are classed as such, all of them

raising chickens. No Kwawu are classed as fishermen according to the census, and as mentioned earlier, fishing in Kwawu is now carried out by migrant Tongu or Battor from the Volta Region.

One of the most interesting agricultural occupations is palm wine tapping. The sap of the oil palm tree, because of its high yeast content, ferments very quickly. The resulting palm wine, as hinted in the introduction, is a very refreshing inexpensive beverage. The 1960 Census reported 6,820 palm wine tappers, only 100 of whom were women. In Akan tradition, palm wine tapping is reserved for men, so 80 of those women were Guan, Ewe, or Nigerian. The 6,720 men who were palm wine tappers accounted for less than half a per cent of the Ghanaian male labour force, but the 250 Kwawu palm wine tappers accounted for over one per cent of Kwawu male employed labour.

In the age and sex distribution (table III:p) of Obo persons employed in sales, in contrast to that of artisans, the category tends to be dominated by women, most noticeably in the hometown. Among the Obo migrants there is a correlation between male participation in trade, and the degree of urbanness in the host locations. In confirmation of the life cycle approach to migration and occupational variation, the age of traders tends to be slightly older than that of artisans. This is more applicable to independent merchants and store owners in Accra, but the average age of the category is lowered by numerous young store assistants and hawkers, often working for relatives in a form of apprenticeship that develops their skills in trading.

The last three occupational categories (table III:r) represent skills and services introduced within the last century by missionaries and colonial administrators. An occupation popular with young men, and important in linking the dispersed community together, is automobile driving. The tendency indicated in the table is for lorry drivers, who

who have a certain freedom in the matter, to reside in Obo or in Accra. Some Obo drivers I know, however, prefer the quiet of village life after a long day of driving, and maintain a second residence complete with wife and children in a satellite village, even if they are classed as resident in town or city. These floaters could truly be called duo-residential or even multi-residential. The craftsmen or artisans are found resident mostly in Obo, although there is a high percentage among the Obo resident population who are non-Obo migrants whose home community is elsewhere. The final category, "service," like the first ones, is essentially urban in character and, as expected, is found among that part of the extended Obo community usually resident in Accra.

Blue-collar jobs, where more physical labour and less education is required, are not as eagerly sought by Kwawu people, except in those occupations such as lorry driving or tailoring which have a high independent entrepreneurial element. Only 0.24 per cent of the male Kwawu working population are miners or quarrymen, whereas over two per cent of the working males of Ghana are so employed. Six and a half per cent of Kwawu men, however, are road transport drivers, while the national proportion is just over three per cent. Most of the Kwawu transport workers are taxi-drivers or inter-town Benz-bus operators. The Kwawu proportion of craftsmen is slightly lower than the national proportion: 13.7 per cent versus 18.7 per cent. Kwawu proportions exceed the national proportions only in tailoring; 5.4 per cent versus 2 per cent. Generally, the Kwawu have a lower than national proportion in blue-collar occupations, falling quite below in carpentry (0.7 versus 3.2), bricklaying (0.7 per cent), and domestic servants (0.12 versus 0.59 per cent). Apart from tailors and taxi-drivers, Kwawu men tend to be less represented in manual and skilled occupational categories (calculated from 1960 Ghana Census, no comparable statistics available from the 1970 Census).

The statistics indicate a trend of occupational preference. Kwawu people tend to be represented in some occupations more than the whole population of Ghana and in some occupations less. They tend to favour professional, technical, administrative, and clerical occupations. They are well represented in enterpreneurial occupations, as sales proprietors of small retail outlets. They are less represented in agricultural occupations with the noticeable exception of cocoa-farming. This cash-cropping activity takes less regular physical effort, requires a fair amount of planning, and yields high profits. As Hill (1963) argued, cocoa farmers are capitalists. These profits tend to be reallocated from and to petty enterpreneurial activities such as taxi-driving, tailoring, and shopkeeping. The Kwawu do not prefer manual skilled or unskilled occupations, except those which traditionally have been regarded as having prestige attached to them, such as palm wine tapping, Kente weaving, tailoring, and lorry or taxi driving. The Kwawu as a group and Obo migrants in particular thus appear to rate higher than the Ghanaian average, on an occupational prestige scale.

To complete the picture of occupational variation with respect to migration and life cycles, the age and sex distribution of selected occupational categories would be useful to examine. The craftsman, artisan, and production worker category tends to be male-dominated, and where women are included, mostly as seamstresses, they are clearly much younger. Although men are more spread out along the age axis, the median, in the 25 to 29-year age range is younger than trading and farming occupations, supporting the life history generalization (progression from trainee to artisan to trader to farmer). The ages of women in this category are spread out only in the occupationally differentiated areas, notably Accra. The concentration of men resident in Obo in the 25 to 44-year age range largely consists of carpenters and masons who

have migrated from elsewhere (i.e., "strangers") in response to the demand created by Obo house construction. The ages of artisans tend to be higher in urban areas than in rural areas as is the total number of persons in the occupational category.

The simplest cyclic models which describe the general pattern of "rural-urban-rural" migration cycle correlated with "student-artisan-trader-farmer" career cycle, can only be thought of as introductory. The immense dynamism of migratory movements, simultaneous and consecutive individual occupational variation, and other complexities, are evidence that the complexity of technical and economic reality is only approximated by such simple models. They only account for general trends but cannot be refined to more sophisticated stochastic predictions.

This completes a sketch of the occupational structure and dynamics of the extended Obo community. We now turn to the economic consequences: (a) the development of migrant trade and (b) an economic analysis of cyclical rural-urban migration in the dispersed community.

Economy: (a) The Development of Trade

Trade, in the English language, is a word derived from the same origin as tread, and both have been closely associated with spatial mobility in European history. The latter observation applies also to Obo. Strictly speaking, economics is the study of the allocation of scarce and useful goods and services, but Obo migration is more closely related to market allocation than to alternatives such as production for immediate consumption (subsistence economy). Because of occupational preference for trade, discussed above, the development of migrant trade and its contribution to the extended community will introduce the economic dimension.

The economic and trading history of the Obo community is difficult to trace to its fons et origo. Both oral traditions and documentation leave few reliable clues. Garlick quotes a tale about the Kwawu asking for skill in trade when God was giving out talents (Garlick 1967:464), but I did not hear it. Perhaps it was a rationalization invented by an elderly informant in response to a question by Garlick about the Kwawu reputation for excellence in trading. Kwawu people admit they have been interested in trade as far back as they can trace their history, but without recorded documents it is difficult to discover the details. Although a complete history would be impossible to determine, it would still be useful to look at the available historical data in order to understand some of the economic developments that contributed to the present extended Obo community, based as it is on cyclical migration.

Trade has a long history in West Africa. Rattray (unpub. 1927:3014) suggested that polished doughnut-shaped ground stone objects were money, patterned after cowries and copied later with iron money that had holes in the centre, like newly minted pennies. If true, then these ground rocks which archaeologists have dated to at least the second millenium B.C. (Davies 1967:204) indicate a long history of trade. Bo, meaning the verb "to strike" or the noun "rocks," is the Twi word used when asking the price of an item. This may be some evidence of trade antiquity.

Seventeenth century references to Kwawu (W.I.C., 1629 Caerte 743, in Daaku and Van Danzig 1966:44, Ogilby 1670:442, Dapper 1670, 1686) do not specifically mention Kwawu trade, but remarks about shrewd, deceitful, untrustworthy Kwawu could well indicate their neighbours' attitudes towards Kwawu trade practices. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Europeans were busy trading with the Kwawu (Thomas 1709, R.A.C. 1/70/5), although complaining that the trade was interrupted by Akwamu

military activity (Kea 1967:20 ff, Rask 1754:81, Sampson 1710:January 31, P.R.O. London T.70/5.R.A.C., Ljgaard 1708:July 14, October 8, 1709:May 3, 1710:April 14, in Furley N. 28, p. 64, 85, 115). The Akan from Dankyira and Adanse (some of whom had migrated to Kwawu) were already well known to Europeans as merchants (Fynn 1971). The Akwamu, branches of whose descendants include the royal (Aduana) lineages of Obomen, Bepon, and Asakraka, as well as numerous Obo lineages, were, as early as 1500 A.D., a migrant group of traders and fighters from north Akan, who settled just north of Portuguese Elmina. Coming into conflict with neighbouring Akan and Guan, they moved east to Nyanoase (near today's Nsawam) about 40 kilometres north of Accra, where at first they were clients of the Ga. They thrived on trade, especially at their gold market, Abonse, during 1630s prior to military activity and expanding into the Akwamu empire (Wilks 1971:367-8). The first Akan intrusion into the Guan society in Kwawu may also have had an important trading element, as perhaps did the Akan intrusion further south, as speculated by Brokensha:

> In the seventeenth century, when the Akwamu empire was at the height of its power, both Akwamu and Akim peoples moved into Guan Hill communities in what seems to have been a peaceful intrusion, probably initiated by traders who established themselves on the new trade routes leading inland.
>
> (Brokensha 1966:2)

The eighteenth century saw Kwawu being used as a trade route (described by Kea op. cit.) not only south from Salaga, but importantly from Kumasi, by the Asante who required an alternative to the direct route south through enemy Fante and Dankyira territory. In December 1817, Daendell wrote of Starenburg's expedition reaching the great market of Accoroso north of Otiso in Kwawu Dukoman. The market was patronized by Asante, Mahee, and Arab merchants (Col. Starenburg's mission up the Volta, Governor General Daendell's Journal 1816-18, cited by Kea 1967:200). While Kwawu was within the Asante empire, prior to the end

of the 1874 Sagranti War, Kwawu traders were required to pass through Kumasi when trading with the north (Garlick 1967:465).

The economic importance of Kwawu to the political expansion of Asante from the time of Opoku Ware is summed up by Kea:

> The political and military thrust of Ashanti to the east and north-east may be seen on the one hand as an attempt to control the commercial centres involved in the trade to Hausaland, and, on the other as an attempt to secure the trade route through the Afram Plains and southward to Akwamu country, and thence to the leeward forts and lodges.
>
> (Kea 1967:46-7)

The effect of Asante political domination on the cyclical migration pattern of the Kwawu and causes of Kwawu resentment of Asante centralized government interference with their desired freedom of trade was described by Casely Hayford at the turn of this century:

> It was part of the State System of Ashanti to encourage trade. The King, once in every forty days, at the Adai Custom, distributed among a number of chiefs various sums of gold dust with a charge to turn the same to good account. These chiefs then sent down to the coast caravans of tradesmen, some of whom would be their slaves, sometimes some two or three hundred strong, to barter ivory for European goods, or buy such goods with gold dust, which the King obtained from the royal alluvial workings.... The trade chiefs would, in due course, render a faithful account to the King's stewards, being allowed to retain a fair proportion of the profits.
>
> (Hayford, 1903:96-6
> quoted by Wilks 1967:217)

The importance of Adae will be discussed in chapter six.

As mentioned earlier, during the 1869-74 conflict (before Kwawu declared independence from Asante), Kwawu traders took advantage of their location between Asante and the British-controlled areas of Akyem and Akwapem. The Kwawu increasingly looked on the British with favour because of the latter's policy of free trade, while Asante trade was still restricted by heavy interference of Asante central government. Brokensha (1966:6) suggests that the Glover (i.e., Sagranti) War began because the British wanted to drive out the Asante who were harassing missionaries and traders. Swiss missionary Lodholtz, travelling to the

last important Akyem Abuaka market town before Kwawu, wrote that he, "... came to Anyinam, where, when the Asantes and Akems (sic) are trading, there are great throngs of people (Lodholtz 1869:April 25, Jenkins 1970:556).

During the war, trade across the Kwawu-Akyem border became secret. Salt, selling for a shilling at the coast, was traded in the bush around Begoro, and sold for $2.00 in Kumasi (Asante 1870:March 7, 1873:April 29, Jenkins 1970). From the seventeenth century, salt had been an important trade item from the coast to the interior (Tilleman 1697). Garlick (1967:468) mentioned traders bringing salt up the Volta and Afram Rivers by canoe from Ada and Akuse, and noted that trade route being used for salt as late as 1905.

During the 1869-74 British-Asante conflict, the salt trade also moved up onto the escarpment where it could be carried out more secretly in the rain forest. The Basle missionaries, Schrenk and Asante, while they were in Begoro in 1870, noted that the salt trade through Kwawu to Asante was a sore point with the Akyem. The Begoro chief swore an oath then that only salt actually in the town at that time was to be sold. The missionaries saw that in spite of the oath, salt was "being brought in from all sides." Schrenk was of the opinion that the top of the escarpment Begoro-Kwawu route had been only a hunter's route previously (Schrenk 1870:August 26, Jenkins 1970:563). The Basle missionary, David Asante, utilized the secret salt trade when arranging with a Kwawu man in Begoro to take messages to the Ramseyer party held captive in Kumasi (Asante 1873:op. cit.). Kwame Fening, the 18th Chief of Begoro (ruled 1861-73) was fined $218 by the Okyenhene (Asante op. cit.) and was destooled in 1873 by his people for:

> ... tracing the origins of his subjects, and also there were secret trade in nooks with the Kwawu on the banks of Oworobong which was one of the chief causes of his destoolment.
>
> (Antwi 1926)

So on David Asante's advice, the Begoro chief escaped to Accra (Asante 1873:April 29, Jenkins 1970).

At Anyinam, two traders were captured by Immanuel Boakye, a servant of the Okyenhene. The Okyenhene fined the town of Anyinam £400 and a number of people had to be pawned or sold to pay the debt. Boakye reported this to the Swiss when he later joined the Kibi congregation (Huppenbauer 1882:May 31, Jenkins 1970).

After the war, Swiss missionaries reported Obo traders going to Asante to receive money for wartime salt shipment (Werner 1876:August 25, Jenkins 1970:59). The salt trade was a major factor in the continued friendly relations between Asante and Obo while relations between Asante and the colony were cool. Ramseyer noted that a Kwawu trader was the link to Kumasi and that Obo, Obomen, and Twinedurase were, "... moving towards cooperation with the Asantehene," (Ramseyer 1876:April 28, Jenkins 1970:590, Der Heidenbote 1876).

After the Basle Mission was firmly established in Kwawu, numerous Swiss and African missionaries journeyed along the old trade routes across the Afram via Kete Kratchie or Atebubu to Salaga, all reporting Kwawu trade activity (Asante 1878:4, 1879, Ramseyer 1885, Tschopp 1887, Jenkins 1970:79 ff); their reports confirming present-day oral traditions. Similar confirmations came from reports of British officials who travelled north of Kwawu to negotiate with chiefs to keep trade routes open: Captain Goldsbury in February 1876, R.T. Lonsdale from October 1881 to February 1882, and George Ekem Ferguson in 1890 (Cardinall 1931: 35). The trade through Kwawu attracted Fante traders from the coast (Ramseyer 1878, Jenkins 1970) and from as far away as Sierra Leone

(Opoku 1878, Jenkins 1970, Der Heidenbote 1878:67, de Brunner 1969:199). Mohr, on his visit to Kumasi with Ramseyer in 1881, noted that trade to Kumasi had been closed to the British who had tried to place an embargo on the Asante.

After the Sagranti War, however, salt was again available in Kumasi (Mohr 1881:September 28, Jenkins 1970). While the missionaries stopped in Agogo, the Agogohene declared himself loyal to the Asantehene. They noted that the trade link between Agogo and Obo was still functioning, so both Mohr and Ramseyer used it to send letters to their wives (Mohr 1881:August 22, Jenkins 1970:148). The following year the Agogohene, Asamoah, sent greetings to the missionaries via two Kwawu traders (Ramseyer 1882:April 2, Jenkins 1970:160-1).

Kwawu traders were still not popular in the south. Claiming that a Dwaben man had been wounded in Nkwatia in 1887, the Dwaben in Koforidua prevented Kwawu traders from passing to the coast (Kwabi 1887, Ramseyer 1887:April 14). It is not clear if resentment against Kwawu traders was caused by suspicion of their allegiance to Asante, or by their prowess in trade, or both.

The establishment of the Swiss mission also had important effects on trade and the economic institutions of Kwawu. The introduction of wage labour to Kwawu by the missionaries was described above. Land alienation was also introduced. It took two days of wrangling to come to an agreement between missionaries and chiefs for the purchase of land on which to build the Abetifi station. The elders understood an agreement whereby clients could use the land, paying rent or tribute, but Weimer complained that they were not familiar with land purchase. The Swiss were finally able to buy a triangle of land, 300 paces per side, paying $110 and signing a document with the Abetifihene, two linguists, and an elder (Weimer 1876:February 22, Jenkins 1970:58).

After the 1890s, according to Peter Garlick's oral traditions, groups of women travelled south to sell tigernuts and ground nuts, and to engage in the local palm wine trade (Garlick 1967:469). With slave-raiding abolished and wars more infrequent, it was more common to find women engaged in migrant trade. Kola was still being taken north to Salaga and Kintampo by Kwawu traders (Smith 1888:December 13). The big cocoa migration that initiated the development of commercial towns, and which was to affect Kwawu economy considerably, began in the 1890s as Akwapem farmers began purchasing land north of the Akwapem ridge (Hill 1963:1).

The oman of Kwawu was on the British side during the final military clash between the British and the Asante at the turn of the century, but Obo traders again found that profits were to be made in smuggling. This did not endear them to their neighbours. In a letter to Travelling Commissioner, H.M. Hull, written by William Tetteh, the Basle catechist at Kukurantumu, anti-Kwawu sentiment was expressed. The catechist described the Kwawu as a:

> ... very wild sort of people, especially the Oboes, by supplying the enemy articles from the coast salt, tobacco, even gun powder with high prices (sic).
>
> Tetteh 1900:June 29, A.D.M. 11/1/3)

Answering a similar letter, the Colonial Secretary asked Tetteh to use every endeavour to stop salt, tobacco, and gunpowder from reaching Asante (17/7/1900, Col. Sec. A.D.M. 11/1/3). More informed about the local situation, and fearing that reprisals against the Kwawu might aggravate tribalism, Hull, however, wrote to Tetteh to say that no one should interfere with traders (Hull 1900:July 2).

Believing they had the blessings of the British, and under the instructions of their elders, the people of Akwapem and Akyem Abuakwa, with no regard to the ultimate destination of the trade goods (to

Asante or within the colony), enthusiastically arrested Kwawu traders, confiscated their loads, and had some flogged (minuted on Hull 1900: July 2, A.D.M. 11/1/3). Both the British and the Swiss came to realize that harsh treatment of Kwawu traders might result in the Kwawu Oman reverting to Asante allegiance. The Colonial Secretary had an audience with two Basle school masters, carrying a letter from Perregaux. They were accompanied by a linguist, a sword bearer, and two others from the Abetifi court. Mensah, the linguist, told the C.S. that the Kwawu Omanhene had stationed his men for over a month at Akwasiho and elsewhere on the Asante road, with instructions to seize any powder that might pass. Further:

> The King also sent to the chief of Obo to stop any men carrying powder to Kumasi and the reply chief Obo (sic) sent to the king was that he was not under orders of the King of Kwawu and that he had no business to tell him what to do. Obo is under the King of Kwawu. The King further sent to tell the chief of Obo that he had heard that his people were carrying things to Ashanti and that on arrival of the commissioner at Kwahu he would report the matter to him (sic).
>
> (Lew 1900:July 16, A.D.M. 11/573)

Kwabena Mensah, on government business as the linguist of the Kwawu Omanhene, understandably took advantage of a journey to Accra to do some trading. Unfortunately he lost thirty headloads of goods on his return when, on the instructions of the Dwaben Queen Mother at Koforidua, Ama Seiwa, he was arrested and his goods confiscated. In spite of the efforts of the colonial administrators, his goods were never recovered.

Eventually (after numerous similar incidents) because of missionary and colonial administrative interventions, the conflict subsided and peace was again restored (Lew 1900:July 16, minuted, A.D.M. 11/573, Tetteh 1900 op. cit., Perregaux 1900:August 30, A.D.M. 11/1/3, Sewa 1900: September 20).

Anti-Kwawu practices did not cease with the Yaa Asantewa War, as southerners continued to envy Kwawu success in business. In November 1903 the chief agents of the major cocoa-purchasing companies, F. and A. Swanzy, the Basle Mission, and the German West African Trading Company, complained to the Governor that chief Kwasi Akuffo was stopping cocoa loads from Kwawu, Akyem, and Akwapem, while chief Apasare was stopping cocoa loads from Kwawu and Akyem (Palaver Book 1903). By 1911 the cocoa industry had grown so much that £1.6 million was exported from the colony. Kwawu traders were making large profits in the cocoa towns of the south and building fine houses back in their hometowns. In despatches to the Colonial Secretary, Clifford discussed problems of local administration in Kwawu because of "... rising commoners in Kwahu." He was most alarmed by, "commoners who owned houses worth £2,000 ... earnings more than the D.C.," (Public Records Office, London, 3/3/1913, C.O. 96/528, 24/3/1914, C.O. 96/543, and 26/5/1916, C.D. 96/567). At a durbar for the C.E.P. in Mpraeso, 18 April 1916, on behalf of the Kwawu people, the Omanhene of Kwawu ostentatiously donated £1,500 to the British to purchase an aeroplane for their war effort. Youngmen Asafo agitation, discussed later, was a symptom of the strains produced by large incomes being earned by commoners who did not enjoy their feudal status under the chiefs.

Migrant Kwawu traders also began taking advantage of lorry transport and the Accra-Kumasi railway, which began in 1909, reached Nkawkaw by 1922 and was completed through to Kumasi in 1923. Rather than rely on long-distance excursions by foot, they began to settle and trade in the southern towns. Cocoa continued to boom, exports realizing £3 million in 1917.

Anti-Kwawu sentiment flared up in the south again in 1923. In August, a boundary case between Akyem Abuakwa and Kwawu (Mpraeso, Atibie,

and Obomen), which went badly for Akyem, was concluded, and the boundaries drawn. Perhaps in retaliation, although he denied it, the Okyenhene passed trade restrictions that adversely affected Kwawu migrant traders. The Kwawu Omanhene complained to the Commissioner of the Eastern Province that all Kwawu traders not owning their own houses were to be driven out of Kibi. Landlords sympathetic to the Kwawu were ordered to appear before the Okyenhene's court. In reply, the Okyenhene argued that he was prepared to lease land to the Kwawu, that the by-laws applied to all foreign traders and were directed towards encouraging local economic development not against Kwawu people, and anyway the Kwawu Omanhene had passed an earlier by-law forbidding Kwawu women from coming to Akyem to trade. The Kwawu Omanhene retorted that his by-law only applied to unmarried women and its intent was to restrict migrant prostitution, and that the Okyenhene's by-laws were being applied only to the Kwawu who were being deported from Akyem.

Eventually the dispute was settled and both chiefs rescinded the respected by-laws (Dixon 1924, Kwahu Quarterly Report M.P. 3663/24, A.D.M. 11/1459, Case 44/1923, A.D.M. 1639 Secret, S.N.A. 221, File 1633/23, G.N.A. Accra, Koforidua), but only after many migrant Kwawu traders were beaten with alacrity and forced out of Kibi by Akyem residents. According to Obo oral traditions, the southerners were envious of the wealth of the Kwawu traders and angered that profits earned in Akyem were being sent to develop the Kwawu district, by both private house-building and donations for public works.

From then on, increasing numbers of Obo traders moved on to the growing city of Accra where they traded primarily in the busy Kimberly Avenue area, and where they built houses in bush, which is now the high-rent Adabraka residential area. The new marketplaces in Accra witnessed the development of "market tailors," who were often younger kins-

men of established migrant traders. They met the demand for cheap clothing: knickers for labourers and school uniforms for students (Garlick 1967:474). The trade survives near "Kwawu Corner" at Kantamanto market. Although Garlick (op. cit.) wrote that imported cotton cloths are now rarely sold by Kwawu traders, he was primarily concerned with studying wealthy traders. Perhaps he overlooked their wives, sisters, daughters, and nieces who line the street north of Makola Market, selling cloth. Because of import restrictions set up to protect cloth factories at Tema and Akosombo, little of the colourful cotton cloth is now imported.

The Kwawu are still objects of envy of their less wealthy neighbours, but who no longer resort to beating, extorting, or deporting them. Resentment is usually expressed by covert accusations of "Nzima Bayie," a form of money-medicine wherein a client sacrifices his soul, part of his body, and/or the life of a loved one (see chapter six). Empty houses in Kwawu, a preference for palm soup (which is blood red) implied in "Kodiabe," enjoyment of bats, and numerous funerals among the Kwawu, all are used by their detractors to point to this supernatural means of gaining wealth. Few realize that many empty houses, and large numbers of lavish funerals, are the result of wealth, not the symptoms of witchcraft used in getting it. With continued shortages of imported essential commodities, and rapid inflation, whereby other people feel the economic pinch and while Obo people continue to build mansions and drive expensive cars, the resentment against them is not likely to disappear soon.

Before leaving the topic of trade, mention must be made of the Obo marketplace. When Obo was situated on an important trade route between Kumasi and the coast, it attracted rather than dispersed migrants. The marketplace thrived. Now, as the town is populated mainly by school

children, some women, and retired farmers, it no longer attracts many artisans and traders. This has had an immense effect on the marketplace.

The Obo market is no longer the crowded busy place that it was as the missionaries found it in the nineteenth century. At that time Obo was a major stop on the road from Accra to Kumasi. From the time of the railway, completed in 1923 through Nkawkaw, the Obo marketplace has drastically declined as Obo people and others migrated elsewhere. Now the market grounds are almost empty and a few sellers locate mainly under the old sheds on the north side, in some remains of shelters on the west side, or on tables under a large tree in the northwest corner. The rest of the market remains bare earth.

In the days when Obo attracted rather than sent out migrants, the market was so busy that instead of the usual Akan practice of one market day per week, three were observed. As recorded by Apeldoorn (1971:25), Monday, Wednesday, and Friday remain the traditional market days. Suspecting there was little left of the weekly cycle, I made observations to determine regular variation. With the help of two school boys I recorded all sellers in the market over an eight-day period, eliminating children who assisted their elders and counting those responsible for selling from each location. Observations were carried out for a two-hour period from eight o'clock each morning, and the results of the recordings are tabulated in table III:5. The observations confirmed the observation of changes over the last century in that large numbers of artisans (Moore and Guggisberg 1909) were now replaced by a few women selling vegetables. Only four men attended the market, one of whom came one day from the butcher's abbatoir in Mpraeso. The general observation of intermittent and part-time occupational specialization was confirmed in that on no one day did more than half of the total number of sellers attend market. More than nine-tenths of the items sold were foodstuffs,

most of which were vegetables or partly prepared (smoked) fish meant for cooking by buyers.

There appeared to be little significant difference in the total number of sellers corresponding to the traditional market days. The observations were too few to make any conclusive statements, and would have to be conducted over an extended time period. Cooked food sellers did a brisk business on the weekend when school children bought food to take to the farms. The non-perishable sellers, occasional lotto sellers, and petty gambling concerns appeared on Wednesday and Friday, and subsequent informal observations appeared to confirm this. Many such traders came from other places, and when questioned, they admitted that they worked the weekly market cycle, confirming the continued function of weekly markets. Markets near Obo satellite villages, observed at Kwawu Praso and Pra River, still function weekly - varying from totally empty to hundreds of sellers. But the weekly cycle in Obo is merely a token.

Informal subsequent observations also indicated that market participation varied slightly over long periods, increasing for Akwasidae and more so for Easter. When large numbers of migrants visited Obo for funerals, however, the market did not appreciably increase. Only the cooked food sellers, particularly at "Station" rather than at the marketplace, radically increased at times of large funerals.

This analysis shows that over the last century, the town of Obo has changed from a host location for migrant traders, to a hometown for a widely dispersed community of migrants spending their productive years away from it. We now examine the economic consequences of that dispersal.

Economy: (b) The Brain Drain

The hometown location, the host location, or the nation, can each be seen as a single field within which an economic system operates; where scarce and useful goods and services are produced, allocated, and consumed. The field or system being analysed here overlaps those first mentioned, consisting of a community of people identifying with Obo while they are resident in the hometown or away. The distribution of wealth within the dispersed community is closely related to migration because the career and life course variations of its membership are a function of occupational pursuits. The selectivity of migrants, and the variations in skill, productivity, motivation, and other elements of economic variety will be analysed with respect to the distribution system and urban and rural economic development. First, reference will be made to the expected result of migration, if migration were only one way as that analysed in most economic studies. Then the results of return migration, observed in the extended Obo community, will be described for contrast.

The most important economic effect of migration, the loss of human capital from areas of low development; e.g., urban areas and industrial countries, is termed "brain drain," and will be analysed first, before showing how a "dispersed community" approach results in alternative conclusions.

Development and the increased complexity of technology, closely related to the increase in specialized skills, resulted in considerable division of labour and occupational differentiation in the Obo community. Discussions of these developments may lead to an analysis of exchange (i.e., monetary market exchange) and allocation of the fruits of labour, wealth. This leads us to the economic dimension, and in it our concern is for the consequences of migration for the community: what economic benefits and/or costs accrue to (a) cyclical movements of its people,

and (b) the dispersal of an extended community over a wide area, interpenetrating other communities? What are the effects of rural-urban migration on rural (and urban) areas? To answer the latter question, we must recall, as argued above, that rural-urban migration must be seen as only a part of a larger cyclical process that takes people, identifying with their hometown, to and from numerous (host) settings, both urban and rural.

The question of what happens, as a result of migration, to the donor (i.e., rural) community, is not new to the social sciences. Anthropologists Schapera (op. cit.) and Mitchell (1958) were interested in effects of urban migration on the rural African societies they studied, while the economic anthropologist, Belshaw (1954), examined social and economic consequences of urban migration on rural societies in Melanesia. Scoiologists studying European and American societies asked similar questions: Schrier (1958) looking at Irish migration to America, and Holbrook (1950) examining New England as migrants left. The problem was later attacked by Carstens (1966) studying a Cape coloured reserve in South Africa, by Frucht (1968) looking at Lebanon. Johnson (1969) concentrated specifically on the economic consequences of migration from an African village.

Migration, whether one-way or cyclical, is analogous to a semi-permeable membrane used by chemists. The transfer of population from donor to host location is not a simple spatial shift in a randomly selected sample of the donor society. Even if it were, there would be ecomomic consequences because the ecological relationships between the human population and its resource-producing environment would shift when the population size decreased. Further, however, there are demonstrable variations in the biological, social, psychological, and thus economic, characteristics of the migrants when compared to those left behind. Migration

therefore selectively reduces the proportions of certain human resources in donor locations. Migrants, as a group, differ from those remaining in age, sex composition, educational level, occupational skills and training, social class and mobility, motivations, attitudes, and productivity - all of which are important variables affecting the economy.

Consider first the biological variables age and sex. Concentrations of one or the other sex, and of certain age categories result in selectivity in economic productivity. In his analysis of age structure, Cooke (1968) found a concentration of migrants in the 15 to 29 age group, a tendency easily confirmed by examining most available relevant census statistics; it is also often mentioned by students of migration and of hometown social organization (e.g., Brokensha 1966:xvi). As table IV:2 indicates, this is certainly the case for Obo. Most students resident in Obo leave when they attain puberty and complete middle school form four, while interviews with older Obo returned migrants all indicate that they had left after reaching puberty. Most studies also report that males are more likely than females to migrate, although three found contradictions: Wendel (1957:8) in Sweden, Jones (1967) in Scotland, and Cardona and Simmons (1975) citing Latin American data; all found females more likely to migrate than males. In his study of rural Irish resources, Symes (1965) found that although more males than females migrated, the females tended to migrate earlier than males. The Obo survey found that females left Obo sooner than males because they did not stay as long as males in (their hometown) school. The young females most frequently went to stay in satellite villages, whereas the Obo males moved to the city (Accra) at younger ages than the females. This biological selectivity in migrant characteristics means the host populations, especially the cities, have a high proportion of young working age, usually male, migrants, often resulting in higher productivity than in rural donor

communities. With respect to the economic selectivity of this migration, Mitchell asked of the (Bemba of Zambia) donor community, "How many able-bodied men can you take out of a community without causing a general social and economic degeneration?" (Mitchell op. cit., p. 54). As this study may illustrate, the answer depends on the relationships between the migrants and their hometown community.

Educational variation (an important social variable examined in the next chapter) also affects the economy. Most studies indicate that the more education a person has then the more likely he will migrate, and the further (spatially and culturally) he will go. Martinson (1955), for example, studying high school students in Minnesota, found that students more adjusted to school life and to its symbol of the outside world (academic, literary, and scientific pursuits) and less adjusted to their family and community life, were most likely to migrate. Intelligence tests, whatever they might measure, appear to be statistically related to education, economic productivity, and migration. Lijfering (1958) found a high correlation between intelligence, urban residence, levels of education, social status, and the distance and frequency of migration in The Netherlands. Similar results were obtained by Pihlblad and Gregory (1957) in their Missouri study. Jansen found the same, noting further that people with high educational backgrounds (educational level of parents) were also likely to migrate. Similar observations were made by Huie (1962), Rossi-Doria (1962), and Fielding (1966); the consensus being that this contributed to a general lowering of the intelligence and educational levels in donor (usually rural) communities. This selectivity in migration is often called "brain drain", but the economic consequences are much more important and far-reaching than education and intelligence *per se*. As Rossi-Doria (op. cit.) pointed out, the lowering of these levels increases the proportion of inactive or

less productive population. The semi-permeous membrane of migration removes human resources from donor locations.

A further selectivity related to education and training is a selectivity of occupational skills. Migrants tend to have more skills, ambition, and motivation than those that do not migrate; whether they migrate to a city in the same country or to another country. Those trained for the top executive and professional occupations are most likely to move. Pihlblad and Gregory (op. cit.) found this in their Missouri study, while Richmond noted that, "Executives in larger organizations together with salaried professions have very high migration rates.... Intermediate rates of migration are exhibited by clerical and sales personnel and by skilled manual workers ..., since the latter constitute a much larger proportion of the total labour force than professional or white-collar workers, they form the largest single category of both internal and external migration," (Richmond 1969:247), and Stub (1962) found that professionals and managers migrate longer distances than do lower status migrants. Brown and Belcher (1966) in their study of cosmopolitanism versus localism among physicians in Georgia, found that those of the first category, more committed to their professional skills, were more likely to move, while the second, who were more committed to local reference groups, were less likely to migrate. The tendency for highly trained professionals to migrate leaves very few in the donor location, and there are few resident in Obo.

Market forces are usually cited as causing this "brain drain" selectivity. Highly trained professionals can hardly make any use of their skills, let alone efficient use of them, in Obo. They move to where they are more effective, for it would be a waste of resources if they remained in Obo. Spengler (1952) suggested that the volume of migration is conditioned by inter-regional differences in availability of economic

opportunities as well as by distance. In an earlier study of Kwawu migration I found that urban occupational opportunity as well as the inverse of distance were two important factors affecting the decision of "where to migrate", thus the differential migration rate to various host locations (Bartle 1973). Beijer pointed out that, "... the behaviour of scientists, engineers, artists, and intellectuals is fundamentally determined by the same kind of motivations and market forces as those of less highly trained workers," (Beijer 1967:228, 1969:58). Human capital in the form of skilled labour is attracted to physical and monetary capital (Thomas 1961:5) resulting in a flow of skilled labour away from developing countries (Isaac 1954, Thomas op. cit., United Nations 1958, Beijer op. cit.) and internally from rural areas. Thus there is a close relationship between social class, spatial mobility, and social mobility in both international migration (Jolly 1968, Richmond op. cit.), and internal rural-urban migration (Stub op. cit., Leslie and Richardson 1961, Fielding 1966, Friedlander and Rosher 1966, Lijfering op. cit., and Jansen 1968), which has been termed "spiralism" (Watson 1964, Jansen 1969). Jolly (op. cit.) noted that the process is open-ended, in places like Britain whose, "... loss from outflow of scientists and doctors to North America, Australia, and elsewhere is offset by inflows from India, Jamaica, Barbados, and a host of other less developed countries," (op. cit., p. 8). Just as Ramsey and Anderson (1958) found in New York that migrants showed a greater proportion of the labour force participation than did non-migrants, so the tables in this chapter show that Obo migrants, in contrast to Obo residents, have a wide range of occupational skills. Migration is thus more likely to occur among those who would benefit most from occupational opportunities in host locations.

Most observers of the "brain drain" selectivity factor indicate that migration results in depression in donor locations. Economic

decline due to migration was observed in rural areas in the south of New Zealand by Heenam (1965), in Latin America by de Suro (1967), in the Ozark area of Arkansas by Metzler and Charton (1958), in west highland Scotland by Turnock (1965), and in the Aren Islands of Ireland by Gailey (1959). This decline and an increased dependency on outside resources was attributed to an overall rise in apathy, resignation, and lack of optimism and progressive thinking among those left behind (United Nations 1954, Myrdal 1957, Rundblad 1957, Gailey op. cit., Symes op. cit., United States 1966, Beijer op. cit., Turnock op. cit., and Hart et al 1968). When migrants go away and leave their area of origin, it is most frequently the most productive who do, leaving a poorer community behind.

All this evidence of economic decline in donor (usually rural) communities, must be re-examined when an additional factor is included in the analysis; return migration. Literature cited in chapter one indicates its extent and importance. Because of the return element, and related factors, the Obo study reveals that the predicted economic depression is offset by certain benefits. The most important related element that counteracts the "brain drain" effect is the continuation of the single but dispersed community. Return migration in itself does not account for all of it. The continued identification of migrants with their hometown, remaining part of the total community even during their absence from the hometown, is also important.

A comparison of the major activities of the Obo community, both migrants and residents, with the populations of all Kwawu and with the Ghanaian population as a whole, leads to an understanding of the economic importance of a community-oriented study of cyclical migration. Tables III:i, III;j, III:m show this. Apart from the obvious low productivity resulting from having more than half the population aged less

than fifteen years, the activities of adults are also important. Only two-thirds of the adult population of Ghana is employed. If homemaking could be included as non-market production, as could be subsistence farming, which is an important segment of the employed population, then the proportion is still less than nine-tenths. For the Kwawu population, this index is even lower, although the difference is more than accounted for by students. Thus the Kwawu have a lower unemployment rate than the average for Ghana. Within the Obo resident population the unemployment rate is thus relatively high, although lower among those Obo migrants who can visit Obo. The majority of the employed category resident in Obo consists of women who farm mainly for family consumption (an agricultural extension of the homemaker category) and perhaps sell a portion. In contrast, the employed category of the migrants include a much higher proportion of cash-croppers. What is most striking for the Obo resident population is the very high proportion of students. Remember these figures exclude children younger than fifteen years. Although students do contribute to the overall community (non-market) economy by doing farm work and domestic chores, the net picture of the Obo resident population is overwhelmingly dependent or non-productive. The lowest percentage of employed persons in the tables is that of Obo resident population. Obo is similar to Larteh in this respect. Their migrants, "... retain strong links with their hometown, both by frequent visits and by sending food and cash to their kinsmen. For Larteh is not economically self-sufficient, and little income is generated in the town," (Brokensha 1966:XVIII).

This is in contrast to the proportion of employed among those migrants who visit Obo. Having watched such migrants give money to their wives, mothers, grandparents, and children in Obo, donate money at public fund-raising events for communal development, and build houses

as mentioned earlier, the total community picture must then include net productivity among the visiting migrants. This balances the net dependency of the Obo resident population. Although migrants who may have lost touch with Obo, and those who don't visit, may be excluded from the survey figures, the percentage of employed for the effective community (as presented in the tables), for the dispersed Obo population is significantly higher than that for all Kwawu people, which again is higher than that for all of Ghana.

Looking at the extended Obo community as a single economic field results in a less pessimistic view of the "brain drain." There is a considerable flow of wealth from the host locations to the donor or hometown. These take many forms: private and familial cash transfers, public and communal prestations, housebuilding and land development, school fees, and support for dependents. When a husband and wife migrate to the city with their children, they provide food and clothing for their offspring. When the children are left in the hometown, those provisions move spatially from the host location to donor location. But within the single dispersed community there is no intrinsic difference than a transfer of wealth between parents and children under the same roof. The important spatial fact is that children, and sometimes wives, of urban residing husbands and fathers, happen to reside in the hometown. Seen as one (dispersed) community with the women and children residing in Obo and the fathers and husbands elsewhere, the notion of "brain drain," loss of wealth to the urban areas, is offset by familial and affinal transfers to the rural hometowns.

Building houses in the hometown, mentioned above, is another important source of wealth flowing from host to donor location. Since the more costly houses usually are built by urban migrants, followed by cocoa farmers, rural-urban "brain drain" losses are considerably offset.

Local materials, rock, sand, and wood are used as well as imported cement and iron sheets. Masons, carpenters, and other construction workers must be paid and, as they spend their income (food, rent, entertainment, etc.), considerable wealth is pumped into the economic system and multiplied.

At public fund-raising events in Obo, timed to coincide with rituals and festivities described in more detail in chapter six, urban and cash-crop migrants return to Obo to donate money. These events raise money used by the Obo development committee, comprised of the Obo chief, his clerk, and representatives from his elders, businessmen, and farmers. On one such occasion I noted one businessman who donated ¢1,000.00, and a total of ¢5,000.00 raised in less than an hour. These funds have been used to build or improve the post office, secondary school, roads, a medical clinic, and numerous primary and middle schools. The Obo Youth Association, composed mainly of Obo migrants working or trading in Accra, or the commercial towns, or cocoa farming elsewhere, is usually most active in fund-raising events related to town development. The congregations of various churches hold similar fetes which draw migrants and money to Obo, to build churches and church-related schools. All of these can be seen both as capital investment in the public sector as well as injections of outside income into the hometown economy as labourers and artisans are paid, and spend their income in return.

Remittances, of varied sorts, are manifestations of hometown identification. Numerous observers have noted migrants sending home remittances: Manners (1965) for the Caribbean, Philpott (1966) for Monserratian migrants in the U.K., Tannous (1942) for Arab villages, and Gulick (1965) for a village in Lebanon. In Obo, the children and parents (and often wives) of urban migrants are supported by the latter as part of each family's domestic budget. Communal remittances are given during

numerous hometown visits: funeral expenses and donations, and public fund-raising events as described in chapter six. Housebuilding (also mentioned by Gulick op. cit.) and the public construction of roads, schools, churches, a clinic, post office, and market shed, all paid with money earned outside Obo, have each injected capital into the hometown location as both labourers and skilled artisans are hired. Residents and migrants belong to the same total community; every household having spatial extensions. The extended community constitutes a single economic system (penetrating other economic systems) wherein the benefits of migration are not all lost to those residing in the hometown.

Apart from building homes in Obo while away, further investment by migrants can be noted as offsetting the "brain drain" effect. Migrants save money and capital goods that they can use when they retire in their hometown. Income is therefore pumped into the hometown economy. Social investment occurs as migrants support relatives, paying school fees to school-aged kinsmen, providing investment capital for younger entrepreneurs, and so on. Other investment, more social than economic, includes helping with funeral expenses of deceased kinsmen, and supporting indigent members of the lineage. When the migrant retires, those he helped are expected to give support in return. Even where the individual cannot return the obligations, the lineage can, so when a man has supported his older lineage members until they die, younger members support him in turn. The flow of wealth to the retired and returned migrants is injected into the hometown economy.

Further donor location advantages of return migration that offset the "brain drain" loss can be developed from Beijer's (op. cit.) analysis of (international rather than rural-urban) migration: (A) Returned migrants come back with increased productivity and efficiency (op. cit., p. 50). This may be the case of the migrant returning to an

economy where his skills can be used, which is seldom the case in Obo; however, since all retired residents in Obo have traded or cash-cropped (usually both) at earlier stages of their lives, their experience could be useful in the hometown, particularly in making decisions of land allocations and inheritance. (B) Contact of returning migrants with other ways of life stimulates the social and economic development of the donor community (op. cit.). Obo elders are very aware of outside conditions, especially of Accra, and are surprisingly development-oriented. (C) Unskilled workers return as skilled or semi-skilled workers (op. cit., p. 51). For Obo the same comments as for item "(A)" apply to skills as to efficiency. (D) Benefits in the sending community include lightening of the labour market situation, transfer home of savings, decrease of consumers in the community product are numerous (op. cit.). Migration may decrease unemployment in Obo, but as Gutkind says of urban Africa, "... true unemployment will manifest itself on a massive scale.... Even today the unemployed in most African towns constitute between 12% and 22% of the urban population," (Gutkind 1967:5). The Obo household survey showed more unemployment among migrants to Accra than among those resident in Obo. The "decrease in consumers" argument, however, is negligible in Obo, as most of the resident population consists of consumers, school children, and retired migrants, while the producers are away earning a living. Not all Beijer's points apply to Obo migration, but enough to somewhat counteract the "brain drain" effect manifested in one-way migration.

Further evidence of the flow of wealth from host to home location is manifested in hostile laments of young Obo migrants. Asking many in Accra if they visited Obo, I frequently obtained the answer that hometown visits were too expensive. Young migrants had to forego home visits because it meant giving money to numerous resident relatives, "paying the

plate" (making donations) at funerals, as well as the mere costs of travel. As migrants became more wealthy they were more eager to make hometown visits because they could more easily afford them. Further, seen as a whole community with home and away members, workers were more efficient when away from the hometown so the total community produces more income than if everyone stayed at home. One young Obo man, coincidentally assigned to Obo as a teacher, lamented that he would much rather be assigned to some other place, even to a more rural village that lacked amenities such as electricity and water found in Obo. As a stranger he could have ignored funerals, whereas in Obo he had to "pay the plate" (see chapter six) or else sneak through back streets to go to school. Numerous family obligations, attending funerals, weddings, and lineage palavers, less economically efficient when done by struggling young workers, could be avoided by migrants of working age, although attended by retired and returned migrants.

There are two alternatives to cyclical migration from Obo: one-way migration or no migration. The first alternative would result in permanent loss of human resources from the hometown location because of the "brain drain" selectivity. The second alternative is hardly thinkable; stopping all Obo people from leaving Obo would result in considerable hardship and economic disaster. Obo town (and its nearby food sources) only supports a fifth of its total population as residents and could not permanently provide food and shelter for the remaining four-fifths. All the skills and training of Obo migrants would be worthless if they were forced to remain in Obo. The physical environment could not permanently support its normally migrant population. The economic advantage of cyclical migration and its corollary, the extended community, is obviously greater than either of the two alternatives, even though its most talented population is away from the hometown during

the most productive years.

This completes a description of technology, division of labour, and economy of the dispersed community. We now examine the social institutions and the political organization of Obo. The importance of occupational career, noted in this chapter, will be seen to be linked with the life cycles, described next, which tie together the complementary roles of migrants and residents in the extended community.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIFE CYCLES AND IDENTITY IN THE DISPERSED COMMUNITY

People in society observe and categorize each other. Their actions and interactions, with various degrees of predictability, are related to those categorizations in numerous ways. They focus on questions of identity and identification. Migrants in the community must know who they are and who are the others with whom they interact. Without recourse to biologism, it is still useful to begin with a biological reality, ontogeny, and the process of aging, observed by individuals in the society and used as a symbolic mode in classifying behavioural expectations. The examination of senescence, with special concern for the life course, is useful to us in understanding and coadunating interrelationships between cultural dimensions, without necessarily resorting to biological explanations of human behaviour.

Describing the social stages through which members undergo leads to an understanding of the social organization of the migrant community. This approach facilitates elucidation of the cyclical migration process, interrelationships between people at different stages, the role of child care and socialization, social interaction, associations, chain migration, interethnic relations, and social institutions in the wider, urbanizing society.

Diagram IV:a

PARADIGM OF LIFE CYCLE STAGES AND CYCLICAL MIGRATION

Life Stages or Social Ages	Occupational Activities	Economic Power	Political Power	Kinship and Residence	Migration Cycle
Baby	prestation	nil	nil	matrifocal	with mother
Child	some chores	minute	minute	matrilineal	hometown, satellite
Student	chores, farming	subsistence	runs messages	matrilineal	hometown
Youth	apprentice-ship	allowance	serves elders	Fa, or Fa friend	host location
Young adult	artisan, worker	income-earning	parental power	conjugal experiments	town, city
Full adult	trader, manager	most productive	increasing	conjugal	city
Senior adult	trader, farmer	control	most power	increasingly lineal	city to hometown
Elder	farmer, retired	declining	prestige	matrilineal	hometown, satellite

Life Cycle: (a) Migration Stages

The individuals who consitute the aggregate of the dispersed community go through four stages of social life: (a) childbirth and infant care, (b) socialization, training, and education, (c) adulthood, working age, and parenthood, and (d) seniority, retirement, and gerontocratic political power. These are expanded to eight stages listed in diagram IV:a. The final stage, death, and becoming an ancestor, will be left until the discussion on belief and ritual in chapter six. It would be useful to observe social institutions associated with each of those stages in the same order passed through by an heteroecious individual, and to examine the whole population with respect to its age composition, to determine the proportions of people who are interacting at each level.

The ontogenetic approach is not new to the study of social organization. Dobriner (1958), Folger (1957), and Leslie and Richardson (1961) focussed on the life cycle and career pattern of the decision to move. Caldwell (1968) in his study of rural-urban migration in Ghana found age and sex important. Jansen, however, has argued:

> ... migration in industrial societies ... is closely linked to life cycle and career pattern variables and in this sense differs considerably from rural urban movement of masses of unskilled persons which is taking place in underdeveloped countries today, and which probably took place at the time of the industrial revolution.
>
> (Jansen 1969:73)

Although the dispersed Obo community is complex, it is still not at the level of industrial development referred to by Jansen; yet life cycle and career are not only important in decisions to migrate, they also constitute the most important heuristic approach to understanding social organization. A note of caution, however, against depending too greatly on the vitae of individuals when attempting to understand the causes of migration or the economic and social constraints within which individuals move about in the extended community. Not only is hypermnesia

lacking in most informants, their descriptions of the causes leading to migration may be biased:

> It is possible that a concrete or a dramatic event stands out in some immigrants' narrative rather than the cumulative effects of hopes and fears which are probably the real cause of pushing a man to leave his home.
>
> (Richards 1954:66)

Interviews with older retired people in Obo, and with Obo migrants and residents of all ages, indicate that they have all moved about during their lifetime, sometimes becoming part of an urban population, sometimes part of the rural. Even when they could not afford the time or expense of paying return visits, they continued to remember their hometown, and keep in touch through contact with other migrants in the host community. From these interviews emerges a pattern of life stages correlated with cyclical migration.

A general model of the life cycle and migration pattern commences with the baby stage, and moves upwards in age. The categories of life cycle (activity, power, interaction, and migratory behaviour) are arranged in diagram IV:a parallelled with the social ages or stages, and elaborated below. In the occupational dimension the baby is unproductive. The individual is 100% "needs," and makes close to 0% substantive economic contribution. From that stage too his or her political power, like earning power, could be considered nil, and can do nothing but increase more or less with age.

The baby's kin ties from birth begin with the mother, and expand at first to include only close female matrilineal kin. As one Kwawu observer remarked, "Traditionally Kwahu women prefer delivering in their hometowns," (Ofori 1965:12). I found that the puerperal attraction, however, was towards the venter's mother or else female members of her lineage. If her mother were resident in Obo at the time, an enceinte woman would go to Obo to deliver. More frequently the

woman's mother was at a migrancy and life cycle stage of her own that took her to a satellite village; so babies would more likely be born in a village than in a hometown. Parturition does not necessarily take place at home. A gravida may choose to give birth in clinic or hospital, but more likely that would be closer to the usual place of residence of her mother than to that of her husband. Usually, then, a baby begins life within a matrilineal rather than conjugal social setting.

Subsequent sections of this chapter will progress, as the heterocious individual does, through the life course. As each socially pleomorphic person gets older he participates in more institutions of the extended community. His productivity, political power, income, prestige, and control over resources tend to increase over time. The consequences of numerous individuals going through those stages; i.e., the institutions which constitute the community, will be described in turn. To begin with, we look at the activities designed to make the new "arrival" a participating member of the community.

Life Cycle: (b) Socialization, Language, and Education

As mentioned above, new recruits to the community arrive with many needs and few skills. Socialization, the process whereby the biological organism (*Homo sap.*) becomes a human being, changes this situation. As people get older they learn skills, including social skills, and internalize the values of the community; they progress through a cultural migration or journey of discovery.

Amidst the copious literature on socialization and on migration, a few observers have brought the two together. Kasdan, for example, speaks of "anticipatory socialization," which prepares migrants for their role (Kasdan 1964). Mabogunje (1962) noted that Yoruba children of town parents are socialized in the village. The same applies to Obo migrants. When the baby is very young, it is cared for by its mother. Its

residence is in the hometown or host location wherever its mother may be. When it is weaned and can walk and speak, the child's mother sends it back to the hometown or satellite village to be cared for by her father, her older sister, or her mother's sister. Often the hometown household will contain all three of these.

Although in the earlier stages of life courses Obo children are usually socialized into a matrilineal environment, some are raised by parents living neolocally in a conjugal unit at a host location. The social contact of the children, even in its lineal context, does not tend to be extensive; their power and influence, therefore interest in the abusua, remains low. It is sufficient here to note that primary loyalties in early life are made to close female relatives, especially to relatives linked through immediate matrilineal descent. The normative elements of matriliny are thus formed in the early stages of life cycle, while the structural consequences become important in later stages. It is in the latter part of their lives that individuals more fully realize the economic and political importance of the abusua or matrilineal descent group. For that reason, in this description, the structure of the matrilineage will be left to the later stages of migrants' lives (described in chapter five) when they have nearly completed their conjugal and migrant activities, and turn again to their hometown where matriliny is dominant. A brief example of how the structure of the matrilineal descent group may affect the socialization of a child, however, is noted here briefly before turning to other institutions contributing to a child's identification with a dispersed community.

It might be thought that the lineage in the hometown is an undifferentiated collection of matrilineal relatives, because of the ideology of "brotherhood" extending past immediate kin links. A case of an urban

Obo migrant sending her children to the hometown may be useful in modifying this view:

> V. has a daughter aged 15 fathered by a senior civil servant in Kumasi. She also has a son and daughter aged five and three fathered by a young businessman who divorced her, who after she took the case to family court, was supposed to pay ¢15 per month support. He seldom did, and was usually at least eight months behind. The children were sent to stay with V's mother in Obo, where the eldest was finishing middle school, and the two youngest stayed at home. When her mother died and the funeral customs were over, V's children were split up. The oldest stayed in Obo a few months to finish middle school. The son stayed with V. and went to a day nursery in Accra while she went to work. The youngest stayed with V's mother's sister in another town. Back in Obo, V's mother's mother, V's mother's sister's daughter with her two small children, and another mother's sister, remained, but would not look after V's children in the absence of V's mother. V's younger sister, on the other hand, who lost her job in Accra and who made unsuccessful attempts to sew and trade, moved to Obo to stay in her deceased mother's room with her own tiny daugher.
>
> (Field notes, P.B., 1975)

Thus, in this example, an urban migrant's children did not automatically go to stay with their lineage in Obo (except the one who was old enough to cook and farm for herself). The key person in the hometown was the mother's mother of the children; when she died then domestic residence arrangements had to be rearranged.

At the earliest stages of a migrant's career, as he learns to walk, he also learns to talk. The language he learns is an important element of cyclical migration. The rural identity of urban migrants is closely associated with the languages they speak:

> ... the choice of a language made by an individual in a multilingual urban situation reveals not only his personal identification but more generalized principles of social alignment: that social identities are expressed in language loyalties: and that the persistance of the "mother tongue," or its rejection, the borrowing of new terms for new concepts, and the adoption or creation of new languages are part of the complex structuring and process of urbanization.
>
> (Greenberg 1965:50)

The language that the Obo child first learns from his mother, or more likely from his mother's mother, is a Twi dialect of Akan, similar to

that spoken in Asante. However, "Kwawu is a Brong language," (Gluck 1937:21, Christaller 1933:VII) and this became very apparent to me when travelling to the Brong Ahafo Region with my friend and former student, Mr. Joseph Darfour, to trace some Obo migrants:

> After passing through Asante where the dialect sounded different - more "r" in it, it seemed - we arrived at Brong Ahafo. We didn't stop at Sunyani but went on all the way to Dormaa, next to the Ivory Coast border. As Joe and I got out of the lorry we heard a young man speaking. Joe looked at me and I returned the glance. Yes, we have already found a Kwawu from "home." When we approached him to ask directions, saying we too were from Obo, he surprised us by telling us that Dormaa was his hometown. Shortly we found all the people there speaking a dialect similar to that of Obo - though not as heavy-sounding as the Kwawu Twi spoken in Nkwatia or Kwawu Tafo.
>
> (Field notes, P.B., 1973)

Although Obo people may sometimes speak other languages, Twi is basically their language of identity, thus of the extended community.

When the children go to school they begin learning English, usually in their third year, so by then Twi is firmly established. Being raised in the hometown or village by matrilineal relatives increases the role of languages as a factor of hometown identity. Migrants to the villages, to southern towns, or to Brong Ahafo, all continue to speak Twi. Educated Kwawu speak English as a second language, using it at work, especially with non-Akan speakers. Some, but not all, Obo migrants to Accra learn Ga, the language of Accra autochthones. Some of those who do admit that it improves business to learn Ga because it mollifies and flatters their customers. I was very surprised to find that a large number of market women whom I first thought were Ga, were really Obo women. They spoke Ga well and appeared to have more avoirdupois than most Kwawu people, so that they were passing as Ga traders at the large Makola market which is patronized by Ga people. It was not the same at Kantamanto near the railway station where Kwawu women bring in the produce grown in Kwawu, where Kwawu dialects of Twi are heard throughout, and there is no attempt

by anyone to appear to be anything else. Overseas and urban Obo migrants use English frequently, but when they are together with each other, they use Twi. Thus Twi is the language of the Obo community though it does not preclude the later use of other languages as the dispersed membership adapts to the social environments of its host locations.

The examination of socialization, and of raising children of migrants in the hometown, gives rise to questions about the composition of households within which Kwawu children live. The nuclear family, with both mother and father present, is not, as in Murdock's (1949:1-40) terms, the basic social unit. The relationship between migration and household composition will be discussed in the next chapter, but meanwhile the role of household structure in socialization can be mentioned here. As one Kwawu observer wrote:

> The father is often away, so that his authority is less continuously felt. Sometimes he is almost a stranger to them, and they seem to avoid him because they are not accustomed to him.
>
> (Osafo 1951:23)

Duolocal residence of spouses automatically means children cannot reside simultaneously with both mother and father. Also duolocal residence is coincidental with hometown residence and visits, rather than with the residence units of migrants which tend to be based on the conjugal tie. Yet children of migrants, even when their parents live together, are often sent to the hometown.

The age compositions of people with the most frequent kinship relations to house owners indicate the importance of matrilineal links in socialization. They also demonstrate the continual shifting about of children even while they live in the hometown with relatives. Statistics compiled from the survey show that the people in the most frequent category, "Owner's Child," are mostly children aged 0 to 19, with most of these found in the five to nine age category. Those in the second

most frequent category, "Owner's Daughter's Child," also are nearly all under 20 years of age, with the majority of those found in the 10 to 14 age category. The third most frequent kin relation, "Owner's Sister's Child," and the fourth most frequent kin relation, "Owner's Sister's Daughter's Child," both include mainly those under 20 years, but the highest proportion are in age category 15 to 19. These demonstrate the shift in households and variations in household compositions that children pass through (even before leaving the hometown) while being socialized. The importance of matrilineal links to the house owners is obvious. Further, the tables of ages associated with various types of household composition also show this element in the socializing process of children.

The consuetude for poorer people to take their children to richer people (often people to whom they have social and economic obligations), adds a further element of cyclical migration to the socialization of children. Fostered children are temporary migrants in the host household, but they maintain their ties to their donor kinsmen. The Kwawu applied the practice of fostering to introduced European institutions a century ago. In 1876 the Kwawu Omanhene gave the Basle missionaries three houseboys to be given instruction. They accounted for 60% of the entire school population in Kwawu the first year of mission activity: a class of five taught by the catechist (Werner 1876:October 25, Jenkins 1970:50).

The four important components of the environment within which children are enculturated then are (a) the multiplicity of kinship ties and functions (quite varied from the nuclear family ideal type), (b) the minimigration between households, (c) the results of migration such as parents being separated from children and from each other, and (d) the development of dual or multiple identities where the children learn

to act in one way in one set of social situations and to act in different ways in others. These constitute training for, "life in the dual system," in Gugler's (1969) terms, or for circulation within the total Obo dispersed interpenetrating community.

As shown by the age and residence tables of Obo residents and visiting migrants (tables II:a ff.), not all Obo children are fledged in Obo. The notion of all children being sent back to be raised in the hometown is too simplistic. The children are found in both host and donor communities in both urban and rural areas. The place of socialization, whether rural or urban, is important for the children:

> Younger migrants and children who grew up in a large city are stimulated at an early age by the environment, are better educated on the average, and are more aware of the possibilities offered by the occupational structure, and have more ambitions.
>
> (Lipset and Bendix 1959:255)

In reading the tables, one should not assume that children belonging to any one residential location at the time of the survey spend all of their childhood there. Life histories of a few students and prior school attendance figures for every middle school student in Obo (1974) both indicate a varied range of children's residence, urban and rural, within the Obo dispersed community.

Residence patterns collected on the Obo household composition survey show only part of the picture. Records of the compositions of selected houses (detailed for the one where I resided, and less complete for numerous houses of important informants) over a two-year period 1972 to 1974, are useful. Children, like adults, are continuously moving about. When young they are sent from adult to adult to be cared for, and as they get older they have more choice in the matter. Many factors contribute to these shifts; the ability of the adults to look after the children, the services the children may provide, the complex of economic and social obligations, interactions between their

parents and the kinsmen and associates of those parents, access to school, and so on. When a child is said to eat in one house on the survey, this overlooks the fact that children in any household sleep and take meals away from the house. Each child associates with different constellations of kinsmen. The fluidity of residence patterns, and the utilization of matrilineal, other consanguineal, and affinal ties, that all move these children about, result in them being socialized into a mobile system in which they are well adapted to the total cyclical migration pattern of the dispersed Obo community.

Household compositions will be discussed again with respect to the role of the complementary lineal and conjugal institutions in the dispersed community. We turn now from the household environment in which socialization takes place and look at the processes of learning which contribute to children adapting to life in a dispersed community.

Prior to the introduction by Europeans of formal institutions of instruction, Akan children were educated often by catechesis, as part of their overall socialization within existing multipurpose institutions. The Asante proverb, "Obi nkyere otomfo ba atono" (no one teaches the blacksmith's son how to work with iron) not only hints at the father's role in education, but also the informality of such training. As Ackah pointed out, words, phrases, proverbs, and folk tales are all used as methods of training children (Ackah 1959:64). In her description of Abetifi, for example, Ansong wrote that such aposematic aphorisms included the saying that a boy became silly (a strong insult in Twi) if he would eat from the cooking pot (Ansong 1959:54). Obo elders explain that they would tell young people that if they ate while resting their left hand on the ground, the food they were eating with the right hand would flow down inside the arm into the ground. The warning was meant

to teach children to sit straight while eating; no adult would believe such a result of not doing so.

Morals are also taught to children through such entertaining devices as apothegmatic apologues called Anansesem (spider tales) which relate the adventures of Kwaku Ananse, sometimes thought of as the profane manifestation of God.

Further training of youth was equally informal. Ansong went on to say that mothers were expected to teach their daughters the different ways of how to behave before each member of the family, how to cook, how to farm, and how to care for the children. Boys, when they reached the age of fourteen, began eating with their fathers, to accompany fathers on hunting expeditions, and to work on the farms (op. cit., p. 55-6). Obo elders relating their life stories recall the first time their father granted them commensal status, though many spoke of accompanying their father on a trading expedition to Salagha or Accra, rather than going on a hunting expedition at that age.

Osafo wrote of little girls playing at "mothers," cooking in tins, washing in the yard, and using plantain as babies to put on their back (Osafo 1951:19). I noticed the same in Obo. The Kwawu equivalent of "mothers and fathers" (playing house) familiar to children in western societies where conjugal residence and bilateral kinship prevail, varies in a way that reflects the social organization into which Kwawu children are being socialized. In the Obo compound where I lived, and many others I visited, the girls would say, let's play, "Mame ne mame" (mother and mother) or, "Mame ne nana" (mother and grandmother). The adults these children emulated were their mothers and mother's sisters (same word in Twi for Mo or Mo-si = ena or mame), the most important people to them in their hometown residence unit. Their socialization took place in a matrilineal rather than bilateral kinship system.

Even in modern industrialized Kwawu, apart from schooling, informal methods are used in educating and training children. "In Kwahu, most of the men are traders who have their own stores to maintain, and their sons to help them in their storekeeping," (Osafo 1951:24). The sons of Obo blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and other craftsmen whom I met were all shown and told how to work by their fathers, while they were living with them. As mentioned earlier, most children of school age farm among their other activities. From the time they are babies carried by their mothers they are taken to farm, and soon given tasks to do, starting from simplest and increasing in complexity and difficulty as they get older. Au courant, much is learned by Kwawu children, both skills and mores, quite outside the school system.

The notion of formal education, however slight, is not new to the Kwawu, although schools were not introduced into the district by the Swiss missionaries until a century ago. Information about schooling dates as far back as the time when Kwawu was being molded into an Akan oman under Asante domination:

> During the last few years of his reign, /Opoku Ware 1720-1750/ was to send twelve young men and two girls to the Dutch at Elmina and to request Jacob de Petersen, the Director-General, to send them to the Netherlands to be educated. De Petersen ... put them in the castle school at Elmina and he accordingly informed the Asantehene.
>
> (Fynn 1971:71,
> citing Jacob de Petersen 1744/5)

The Dutch had founded a school at Elmina in 1644 and the Danes founded one at Christiansborg, Accra, in 1722 (de Brunner 1967:35, 61); traders to the coast must have brought some information about these back to Kwawu. A boys' school was begun by the Swiss missionaries in Accra in 1843, Akropong, Akwapem in 1848, and in Kibi a decade later (op. cit., p. 147-8). Migrant Kwawu doubtlessly came into contact with these. After the Swiss missionaries settled in Kwawu they wrote of staying in

an Obo compound when on preaching journeys. The compound was owned by a merchant who had once been a scholar at the Kibi school in Akyem Abuakwa (Dilger 1880:July 3, Jenkins 1970:125).

Since the introduction of education into Kwawu came about as part of religious activity, it was not always welcomed with open arms, particularly by people whose interests were vested in traditional religion. Shortly after the Basle missionaries arrived, Atie Yaw, one of the most important tutelary dieties of Kwawu, forbade the people to send their children to school (Werner 1876:October 25, Jenkins 1970:59). Nevertheless, in 1877 a boys' primary boarding school was opened in Abetifi (Schlatter 1916:116, de Brunner 1967:199), at least temporarily attracting a few students. Early in 1879 the missionaries toured Kwawu, recruiting new students to replace most of the first ones who quit. Obo promised to send four boys (Werner 1879:February 4, Jenkins 1970:97). By the end of the year there were fourteen boys in the boarding school (Ramseyer 1880:February 2, Jenkins 1970:105).

The Obo people demonstrated that they were well aware of the difference between proselytizing and secular education. In 1880, some time before the Basle mission could successfully establish an outstation in Obo, the Obo people heard that Mpraeso was slated for a resident catechist. An Obo delegation then went to the missionaries in Abetifi to petition, not for a catechist, but for a teacher (Ramseyer 1881, Jenkins 1970:124). In 1883 Ramseyer decided against starting a school in Mpraeso because the children were either pawns or had to help their parents on the farms (Ramseyer 1884, Jenkins 1970:173). Obo too had to wait for a school or a docent, though a few Obo boys became minimigrants by moving to Abetifi to attend school. The Basle school played another role in spatial mobility of goliards as catechist Mensah wrote of taking three school boys on a preaching tour of Asante Akyem (Mensah 1884, Jenkins

1970). Before educational institutions were established in Obo, education thus became a feature of the dispersed Obo community.

We now turn to the present schools in Obo and the role they play in migration.

The construction and location of schools in Obo must be seen in their political and religious context. By 1913 the Kwawu people were sufficiently convinced of the value of secular education that when the British Governor, Hugh Clifford, visited the Omanhene, Nana Kwasi Diawuo II, and other chiefs at Abetifi, one of their concerns was to ask the British to help them with a school. Clifford's reply was that he was in favour of a government school, but that it should not be built in Abetifi, for the Basle mission served that area well (Palaver Book 1913). Because of its size and importance, the Governor had Obo in mind.

Although the royal lineage of Obo (the chief's matrilineage) had not been favourably disposed towards the royals of Kwawu at Abene, the Swiss missionaries at Abetifi, or the British administrators at Mpraeso, another faction in Obo, led by the lineage of the Obo Ankobeahene, was so disposed. The Ankobeahene owned land stretching from the town site east to the ancient site of Obobe, his ancestors' village, between Nkwatia and Bepong. A portion of the land east of the town centre was set aside for the government school. About this time the Basle missionaries had lost favour with the new career-minded colonial administrators who used World War One as justification to deport the Swiss from the Gold Coast. The Basle congregation eventually became the Presbyterian Church, which was given the responsibility of administering the schools. Thus the Obo Government School is today known both as the L.A. (Local Authority) and as Presby (Presbyterian) A. Middle School. The site is down the Obomen road hill on the north side of the road. By the end of the Second World War, an extension to the school was built

on land purchased from the matrilineage of the Obo Ankobeahene at the nominal fee of one shilling (Miller 1946:May 17, G.N.A. 15 May 1945, A.D.M. 32/1/139). The annex then came to be known as "Presby B."

To compete with the Presbyterians who were still identified with Abetifi, the Obo royals supported the Anglican Church. The priestess of their Tano god set aside lands on the southwest side of town to build the church, primary school, and the Anglican Boys Middle School. Rather than allow the middle school to become coeducational, the Anglicans built a Girls Middle School much later in New Town brong, on the road to Obomeng, near where the Roman Catholic primary and middle schools and church were built in the late sixties and early seventies. By the time of this 1972-1977 study of Obo, the Roman Catholic Middle School had only two of its four forms, although the third and fourth form were subsequently added. Presby A and Presby B each had four coeducational forms, and the two Anglican schools each had four forms. All these had primary schools from class one to class six feeding into the middle schools, while the Methodists had only a primary school. Obo therefore had six primary, five middle, one commercial, and two secondary schools.

Many informants have lamented that Kwawu people generally have been interested more in business pursuits than following a scholarly career. This observation is supported by Osafo, who wrote:

> the majority of them stop after the elementary education and help their uncles in stores, to become rich, and inherit their uncles' properties.
>
> ... The boys think more of getting money quickly than having a higher education.
>
> (Osafo 1951:37)

She goes on to explain causes of low rates of female education by suggesting that, "... conception is the chief source of interference to girls' education," (op. cit.).

This notion of a low educational level among the Kwawu also appears to be supported by Philip Foster, who wrote that the percentage of population with at least six years of education in 1948, for the Birim District (Kwawu and Akyem), was only five and a half, slightly higher than the whole Gold Coast (including Asante and the north) and slightly lower than that for the Colony (Southern Ghana). The percentage for Birim was certainly much lower than the eighteen percent for Accra and the nearly twenty-five percent for Cape Coast (Foster 1965:118, table 7).

What is ignored in Foster's figures is the migration factor. Those Kwawu who were educated moved to larger centres such as Koforidua and Accra, swelling the percentages of educated people there. Illiterate Kwawu were more likely to move only to the satellite villages, thus keeping the percentage of educated people in the Birim District (i.e., Kwawu and Akyem) at a low level.

A more serious distortion in Foster's figures, also resulting from ignoring the Kwawu migration pattern, is found in his table 8 (op. cit.). Comparing the estimated percentages of child population in Accra who were attending school, for various ethnic categories, which tended to average between seventy and ninety percent, Foster wrote that for Kwawu children the figure was only fourteen percent. What is not obvious is that he calculated the figure from the percentage of <u>all</u> Kwawu in Ghana who were in the six to fifteen-year age range, and compared it only to the recorded number of children attending school in Accra. He assumed that the age composition for all Kwawu in Ghana was the same as the age composition for only those Kwawu migrants who were resident in Accra (op. cit., p. 120). The age structures of resident and migrant Kwawu within the total dispersed population, as explained below, are significantly different, and must be accounted for in any analysis of school attendance.

Just as Yoruba children of urban parents in Nigeria are socialized in their home villages (Mabogunje 1962), the children of Kwawu migrants resident in the urban areas are more likely to go to school in their hometowns. In the discussion above on economic activity, the proportion of students in the community was noted as an important productivity variable.

The tables compare Obo resident and migrant population, and total Kwawu and Ghanaian population. At eleven percent, the proportion of Obo people aged fifteen and over (combining residents and migrants), and for the total (1960) Kwawu population of that age category, is the same. It is considerably higher than the four percent for the whole of Ghana, and considerably lower than the twenty-two percent for Obo residents alone. Tables calculated from the 1960 Census (comparable data on the 1970 Census being unavailable) clearly contradict Foster's (1965) calculations. Proportionately more Kwawu children were attending school than the percentage for all Akan, which in turn was more than for all children in Ghana. Further, they show that the proportion of Kwawu adults who had previously attended school was higher than the percentage for all Akan, which again was higher than for the total Ghanaian population.

Foster did consider the factor of urban migration, for his tables clearly demonstrated a correlation between urbanization and educational levels. Among his speculations he wrote that:

> It should be noted that rural/urban variations may be heightened by the influx of rural children seeking education in the towns. The extent of this practice is unknown, but it is very unlikely that such a movement could fully explain urban/rural differences.
>
> (Foster 1965:143)

In this respect, it would be valuable to examine the composition of the Obo school population. Most primary and middle school students in Obo are from Obo or Obo satellites, while their parents are usually living away from Obo, usually in Accra. Secondary school students are more

likely to migrate to the cities and wherever else boarding secondary schools may be located. In contrast to the primary and middle schools, the secondary schools in Obo have a high proportion of students from outside Obo and its satellites, and from outside the Kwawu district altogether. Education itself as a factor in decisions to migrate appears to be operative in the transition between completing middle school and beginning secondary, commercial, or vocational school.

I recorded that a secondary student at the Obo (now Kwawu Ridge) Secondary School won a scholarship and obtained residence in the school in the Chach (Asamenya brong) neighbourhood of Obo. In a pattern reflecting the cyclical pattern of Obo, she did not visit the house where she had previously lived (in Baseremu) as a day student, for over a half a year. Later she began visiting, usually on Sundays, dressed in her finest, often bringing toffees for the little children.

Students also temporarily migrate during their vacations when they go to stay with relatives who farm in the villages or trade in the towns. As they are socialized, these young migrants extend their links to various sectors of the dispersed interpenetrating community. Perhaps Kwawu people had not placed a high premium on education in the past, but many informants believe this to be changing. Attempts such as Foster's to demonstrate this comparatively, must include the migration factors so as to avoid misleading distortions.

The educational factor is not new in the literature on migration. Friedmann (1964), Brunner (1957), Olsson (1965), and Parr (1966), all found that one-way migration, particularly to urban areas, is highest among those with more education, skills, and ambition, therefore creating a depression in the economies of donor communities because of the brain drain effect. As analysed in the previous chapter, the problem takes a different form in West Africa where home ties are maintained and the

total community interpenetrates both rural and urban locations. Similar conclusions about education, migration, and brain drain were drawn by Hui (1962) in his study of rural-urban migration in Alabama, by Marshall (1959) in his study of Wisconsin, by Ramsey and Anderson (1958) in their study of New York State, and by Hamilton (1958) in his study of North Carolina, who added that net migration takes its heaviest toll from the two extremes of the educational distribution. The brain drain pheomenon was also studied by Allen et al (1955) and in the Netherlands by Lijfering (1958), who found that as well as the educational variable, urbanward mobility was further correlated to measures of I.Q. Martinson (1955) tried to explain this in his study of Minnesota high school graduates, who he said were less well adjusted to their families and to country life, and better adjusted to the more cosmopolitan lifestyle of their schools.

The question of the relationship of education to migration in Africa has been raised frequently. Raymond Firth, in his (1947) conspectus of problems in West Africa, mentioned the uneven rate of education. Hurd and Johnson (1967) dealt with relationships between education and both social and geographical mobility in Ghana, suggesting that higher education benefits the elite, and not the children of rural peasants or urban blue-collar workers.

Although his calculations about Kwawu school attendance were clearly incorrect, based on insufficient data, and neglecting the factor of cyclical migration, Philip Foster has done some other serious thinking about Ghanaian education and migration. In a later publication:

> ... It would appear that formal education is a "cause" of unemployment insofar as a few years of SCHOOLING IN AND OF ITSELF seems to create certain occupational expectations that are not likely to be satisfied within the context of present rates of economic development. However, this is not to suggest that what the school teaches has a particular effect on vocational expectations .... there is no empirical foundation for this view ... the problem is not curricular in origin .... school leavers will take and often prefer manual work but still cannot obtain jobs ...
>
> Problems of unemployment are not separable from those of urban migration.... in some areas the bulk of urban immigrants are unschooled.... Studies which suggest that, for example, 80% of educated youths leave the village rarely present the other half of the picture - what happened to those who didn't go to school?
>
> (Foster 1968:19-20)

In Obo the proportion of school-aged children not attending school is very low. Children who do not start school, or who drop out, utilize their network of kinship and friendship connections and migrate to other places in the dispersed Obo community. Through those connections they find work on the farms at satellite villages, or at lorry parks, artisan shops, and stores in the towns and Accra. Every year when more students complete their form four (standard seven) in Obo, they leave to seek either employment or further education. Few remain in Obo because there is little there to sustain them. Margaret Peil, who followed careers of Ghanaian middle school leavers (completers), found that the overwhelming majority of them, particularly from rural areas in the Eastern Region, left the place of their middle school education (Peil 1970). This was clearly the same pattern as for Obo.

The tables showing attained educational level of all Obo economic activity (tables IV:b, d) depict an interesting educational structure for the total community. There is a clear relationship between proportion of persons with no education and proportion of those whose usual place of residence is in the rural areas. With the minor exception of post-middle school teacher training, there is a clear rise in the proportions of people in each successively higher level of education coinciding with each higher degree of urbanness of usual place of residence.

Although the total community population is connected by kinship relationships, those with higher education tend to spend most of their time in urban areas while those with less education tend to spend most of their time in rural areas. The pursuit of middle school education, as the Obo data indicate, is not a cause of rural-urban migration, but rather should be seen as a factor delaying the move of individuals from their hometowns to places of more rewarding opportunities. The completion of such education, in contrast, tends to direct migrants to urban locations.

Two more approaches to understanding the relationship between education and migration might be considered; that of Magnarella and that of Hill. In his study of Suzerluk in Turkey, Magnarella took the approach that goals, and the ways those goals change through time, are most important in understanding social organization. Thus:

> I am assuming that as greater proportions of the town's population attain higher levels of modern secular education, their attitudes and behaviour will increasingly resemble those of today's more educated citizens who represent indicators of the direction of change.
>
> (Magnarella 1972:362)

Caution must be applied in making this assumption for, as Ghanaian history shows, the lifestyle of a select clerisy or educated elite which has evolved over the past century (during which education was applied only to a small proportion of the population) has not showed itself a useful predictive bellwether of the lifestyle of today's mass educated citizens. The cultural continuity manifested by the dispersed Obo community results in adaptation and survival of traditional institutions such as the matrilineage, while educational institutions are grafted onto the community to permit it to adapt to the changing technical and economic dimensions.

The introduction and growth of education, and the distinctive way it is used by the people, also reflects the adaptation of new institutions to modern cyclical migration. As was pointed out above in the discussion on technology, some things (e.g., architecture) not only have a practical value, but also reflect variations in migration. As Polly Hill pointed out:

> The prestige which an Akwapim man derives from massive, sometimes ostentatious, educational expenditure is analogous to that obtained from building a colossal house. The results have been impressive. Just as remarkable are the modest efforts of impecunious farmers to provide their sons and daughters with a good start in life. Like expatriates in West Africa, they prefer to send their children (other than the smallest) "home" to school. A recent count made in Larteh by Mr. D. Brokensha showed that 1,000 (out of 1,917) school children came from "abroad" and were boarding with relatives or at school and the number would have been much higher had it not been for the poverty resulting from swollen shoot.
>
> (Hill 1963:191)

Rather than seeing a one-way direction of causality, the introduction of education followed by changes in Obo social structure, it would be more useful to think of formal education itself also being modified and used in new ways when it is introduced into an existing social organization. The existence of schools in the hometown facilitates the sending of children back to the hometown to be socialized, thus aiding the adaptation and survival of traditional institutions rather than aiding their demise.

With this caveat in mind (not expecting too much cultural change following increased education), it is still seen to be an important agent of change. Increased liberty, as Osafo points out, is a consequence of education, and lifestyles are accordingly being modified:

> The daughter who goes to school has a wider measure of freedom than her illiterate sister. She may go wherever she likes between the morning and afternoon classes. She has many, many excuses for leaving home in the evenings, to study in a friend's house, or a meeting at her teacher's premises. They are recognized as ladies in the house and generally refuse to do any household work.
>
> (Osafo 1951:22)

Although her description may be slightly exaggerated, for not all Obo school girls are so free or haughty, the difference in attitudes and expectations between educated and illiterate members of the Obo community is mirrored in Osafo's words. What appears to be developing in the dispersed community is an axis along which one measures degrees of urbane and cosmopolitan sophistication in one direction and degrees of bucolic and rustic naivety on the other. The distinction between the two is intimately connected with educated/illiterate differences described above, and urban/rural differences discussed below.

Formal education is a stage in the life course of most of the present Obo population, and the congeries of all Obo people presently enrolled in schools constitutes an important sector of the community social composition. Leaving school, and further migratory behaviour, is the next stage in the life course, and the effects of the aggregate of leaving school will now be examined. In discussing this stage we touch upon the central theme of this study, the rural identification of urban migrants.

Life Cycle: (c) Secondary Socialization and Urban Migration

When an Obo youth completes his formal education in Obo, he or she leaves familiar surroundings and moves into a wider social and geographical universe. It is usually a move urbanward. In contrast to the hometown, in which the migrant's primary socialization took place, the larger community very often includes his parents who are already migrants. As du Toit pointed out, "Just as the migrant has been socialized into his rural life ways, so he must now learn the new social structure of the

city (Hanson and Simmons 1968). This process (Mayer 1970:XVIII) of socialization allows the migration of a person to become a mobility process," (du Toit op. cit., p. 5, referring to Fortes' 1971 op. cit. distinction between mobility and migration).

In European migration, rural-urban moves are seen as radical shifts in social environments, requiring considerable re-socialization:

> For many of these people from the countryside, however, it is more than a change in residence, or more than a movement in space from one point to another, it involves a complete change and adjustment (re-adjustment) of the community affiliations of the individual.
>
> (Beijer 1965:14)

Eisenstadt suggests that migration can be seen as a re-socialization, similar to the process of initial socialization, except that the migrant begins with an already given social basis (Eisenstadt 1954, Jansen op. cit.)

For the Obo migrant, the move to the city implies both a move outward but within the total dispersed community, and a move to a location where the social organization is different than in Obo, even though the extended Obo community has penetrated it. The young migrant had already seen many Obo migrants usually resident in the host locations, including his parents and other kinfolk, when they had returned to Obo for funerals and other occasions. The wider community that the youth moves into therefore includes some known people. This does not contradict the view of his move as social mobility, for his social contacts change and his roles change; new conjugal affiliations frequently coincide with residence away from the hometown, and his status changes from child, student, to adult, worker.

In spite of numerous individual variations in life stages and migration decisions, a general tendency in terms of rural and urban locations can be detected. Numerous sources of information point to this regularity: age distributions in various locations, life stories of

elderly Obo people, and the plans and observed activities of Obo students as they complete middle school, form four (standard seven). Only a few of the latter leave for the farms, those not able to complete middle school having already left for the farms and small commercial towns. Some school completers go directly to Accra where they have contacts. Most go first to a small commercial town, move to others, and later to Accra. Some continue their schooling, training, or apprenticing. Very few strike out on their own. Initially there is considerable moving about as new opportunities become apparent. The net tendency, within all this movement, is towards the city.

The tables which display the numbers and percentages of Obo residents and migrants, by age, to villages, towns, and Accra, partly portray the urbanward tendency. But not all migrants are shown. The tables were based on Obo migrants who had visited Obo, where the survey was conducted. Many Obo people who had lived in Obo as school children, and who came frequently in their later life, did not visit the hometown during their early adulthood. People not visiting Obo at some life stages, even though they maintain hometown identity, would not appear on a survey such as the one conducted in Obo, thus the tables are biased in favour of people at other life stages. It was not possible, however, to survey the whole population of Ghana to determine the actual population of Obo people resident outside their hometown. Interviews with Obo migrants in host locations indicate a large proportion of young adult Obo migrants who would not visit the hometown, thus be omitted from such a survey, although they intended to visit Obo when their financial circumstances improved. To supplement the Obo data, then, census data on the location of all Kwawu within Ghana can be examined. Although the census data has certain inadequacies (e.g., it is based on residency by district, not town), it does support the life cycle model presented here.

As Hill demonstrated, the Kwawu as an ethnic group have the highest percent of any Ghanaian migrants who are resident in the three major cities (33%) of all migrant ethnic groups in Ghana, the Kwawu are most urbanized (defined in terms of residence in centres of over 5,000 population) of migrants (Hill 1970:26, table 5). If Kwawu migrate they tend to go to urban areas; if they go to farm they seldom go far (Bartle 1971, 1973). Comparing Kwawu to total Ghanaian population, only in the 45 to 64 years age range does the proportion of Kwawu in urban areas fall below the proportion for the total population of Ghana. Note that it is the Kwawu migrant population, those who have left the district of their birth, which is so urban. Migration to satellite villages is overlooked in census statistics as it takes place within the Kwawu district. The total Kwawu population, like that of most of Ghana, is rural, in contrast to its migrant population. For every Kwawu person living in an urban centre there are three Kwawu persons living in a place having a population of less than 5,000 persons.

Migration to the city requires certain adjustments on the part of individual migrants. Urban and rural behaviour patterns vary. Where migration is one way, according to Eisenstadt, these adjustments include: (a) acculturation, (b) personal adjustment, and (c) immigrants becoming no longer concentrated in areas of residence or occupation (Eisenstadt op. cit.). Where migration is cyclical as in the Obo case, the first two adjustments are similar, whereas the third is a slower process as ties are kept with the hometown. Urban migrants from Obo learn and internalize new roles, norms, and customs. They become acculturated and adjusted to the city. The contrast is noticeable in the activities of young city dwellers when they come in large nubmers dressed like clothes horses as they do, for example, every Easter. School children only a few years younger, still resident in Obo, appear to be so much more

naive. However, only a few of the young cosmopolitans return at other times of the year, and, usually coming alone or in small groups, they act less urbane. Their multiple identity mechanism shifts to agrestic, and then their activities and behaviour more closely resemble those of the slightly younger Obo residents. Thus the same individuals behave in both sophisticated and rustic manner, according to the social context of their behaviour.

Shortly after Basle missionaries came to Kwawu they remarked on differences between rural and urban behaviour. Dilger (1880:July 3, Jenkins 1970:125), for example, thought that people in villages were more simple and childlike, which he preferred to the behaviour of people in the larger towns. Aggressive urban behaviour may have been displayed in Kwawu at that time, but without data from earlier times it is difficult to pinpoint any specific time of arrival. In his report for the year 1882, Ramseyer complained that the, "... people are beginning to adapt the arrogant attitude of the coastal people to Europeans," (Ramseyer 1883, Jenkins 1970).

Forty years later, Meyer Fortes showed that such behavioural attributes were part of each individual's multiple identity, when he found that the returned worker quickly resumed his tribal ways (Fortes 1938), and a decade after that Schapera noted that returned migrants lost their urban forms of behaviour (Schapira 1947). This multiple identity is a part of a pattern that Gugler (1971, 1975) calls a "dual system" when discussing Eastern Nigerians in town, and is the same as the observed combination urban-rural identities of the Malay (McGee op. cit.), Yugoslavians (Halpern 1975), and West Indians (Gonzalez 1975), when they migrate.

The rural-urban differences in attitudes and behaviour of Obo migrants had an interesting effect on the collection of data for this study,

especially in the administration of the household composition schedule. The survey had the approval of the Obo chief and elders and it was hardly necessary to have the dawuru (called gong gong in English) beaten by the town crier, though for the sake of good form it was done. Most townspeople were friendly and responsive even when they did not understand the purpose of the questionnaire. Later, after a few large funerals and Easter, rumours about my being a spy or someone planning to extort land or houses circulated for a few days or a week afterwards. Visiting sophisticates from the towns and Accra were asking what I was getting out of this inquiry and if the informants could get a share of the profits. This resistance usually died down again, although I once found it necessary to ask that the dawuru be beaten again to request co-operation. Surprisingly, in contrast, when I followed selected Obo migrants to their residences and places of occupation, even in Accra, my welcome was always friendly and help freely given. I assumed that this was because I was known as an Obo person by adoption, blower of the Obo horn, and because my introductions were through the vast network of Obo friends, relatives, and acquaintances. Perhaps I was being treated like a country cousin by urban sophisticates.

Although rural-urban differences in behaviour, lifestyles, dress, and attitudes of Obo people appear to be obvious in casual observation, it was difficult to quantify and measure such a variable. In his Bristol study, Jansen used two types: "cosmopolitanism" versus "localism." Included among the former were those committed to professional skills, having little loyalty to the community in which they lived, and having reference groups that were not specific to the community. He found that both migrants to Bristol, and Bristol-born residents who had migrated elsewhere and returned, had significantly higher cosmopolitan scores than Bristol-born who had never moved all their lives (Jansen 1968:72-6,

1969:65). These scores, although somewhat different from the less objective, more intuitively observed urban characteristics noted for the Obo study account for part of a long list described by Wirth. His characteristics of urbanism included: weak bonds among co-residents, formal rather than informal methods of social control, superficial, impersonal, transitory, and segmentary social relations, relations used as means to ends, sophisticated, rational, and competitive values, people categorized by visual symbols such as dress and material wealth, and money, the standard against which all goods and services are valued (Wirth 1938). These characteristics describe the behaviour and attitudes of the more urban of the Obo migrants, but only if it is recalled that individual migrants shifted back and forth along that continuum as their social context changed.

Numerous other social scientists such as Kuper, Redfield, and Banton, have attempted to deal with the sophisticate-agrestic contrast. Wirth's characteristics of urbanism were put into the African context by Kuper, who wrote:

> This process has several distinct characteristics: economically, the structure of production changes and an increasing proportion of workers are involved in non-agricultural activities and have unequal access to economic opportunities; politically, bureaucratic machinery and administrative control are becoming more extensive; legally, conflicting claims are expressed in contractual rather than in status arrangements. Industrial urbanization is thus more than a shifting of people from country to city, from landbound to urban occupations, and more than increasing population density and economic differentiation. It entails also changes in distribution of power, interests, institutional arrangements, norms of conduct, and social values, and as a particular process of increasing complexity, cannot be isolated from the more general context of social growth.
>
> (Kuper 1965:1)

The difficulty in applying Kuper's analysis to a changing Obo extended community is that Kuper's description implies a single unidirectional movement from rural to urban or from agrarian to commercial. Obo, and I suspect, most such West African communities, may be making such a

movement, if only net change is examined, but the process is more cyclical (rural-urban-rural) as it proceeds day to day: cycles within cycles, and only a long run or net movement in the direction she describes.

Redfield, in contrast, dealt with the problem by describing two polar types: folk society characterized by smallness, isolation, non-literacy, homogeneity, and a strong sense of group solidarity; and urban society characterized by largeness, contact with the rest of the world, literacy, heterogeneity, and low group solidarity (Redfield 1947). The extended Obo community combines characteristics from both these types, some simultaneously and some in oscillation, as its migrants circulate throughout the dispersed community.

The complexity and sophistication of urban life in Africa led Banton to conclude, in contrast to the objectives of this study, that only survey methods could adequately deal with the problem of describing social organization:

> The relatively simple life of a tribal village can perhaps be adequately described in purely verbal terms but the uniformities found in urban life can for the most part be expressed only statistically. In the town, few generalizations of any validity can be obtained without the use of social survey techniques - taking a sample of the populations and showing the variation of behaviour and circumstance in numerical form.
>
> (Banton 1957:XV)

Banton did not realize that statistics merely supplement, by more precise measurement, the major task of the sociologist - the observation and analysis of a social system or sub-system, by delineating and discovering the functions of its constituent elements. That must be done prior to the collection of any statistics. Further, how could one successfully deal statistically with the variations in lifestyles across the extended Obo community, as exemplified by the following case?

> Kwame and I drove to A-, a village in Asante-Akyem to spend a night, and greet his mother's uncle and give condolences for the death of another great uncle who had paid for most of Kwame's brother's education. If you are an Obo man, I asked, how is it that your village is in Asante-Akyem? He explained that he was an Oboni because his father is a (rich) Obo trader, although his clan is Oyoko and his mother's origin is Asante.... We arrived late and woke up before dawn. Kwame put on some ragged shorts and a torn sweater and we went to farm. As we walked, Kwame shouted greetings to friends and kinsmen hidden by trees and shrubs whom I doubt whether I'd have seen were I walking alone. Coming out he carried on his head a basket of freshly fermented cocoa weighing about 40 kilos. Later, as we drank palm wine and told stories, I could not help wondering if this were the same Kwame I had known: graduate of St. Peters, my bungalow mate for a year, teacher turned merchant. After ten years of knowing him as an urban sophisticate who would never wear an unpressed shirt, I found he was still a country hick, as I was in my youth. The difference is that I have no home in the countryside where I may return.
>
> (P.B., Field notes 1974)

The Kwawu in this way are like Africans in Eastern Nigeria who, "... are committed to a full working life in town yet maintain close links with their home rural area," (Gugler 1965). Although Obo children leave school and hometown, resocializing into a wider dispersed community embracing the sophisticated life of the city, they maintain their bucolic identity. The same individuals can slip in and out of the different roles which operate in the various urban and rural sectors of the dispersed community.

We now turn to processes which link these various people together, the links that form a chain of migrants following each other.

Society: (a) Chain Migration and Identity

It is rare for a young Obo individual to merely run away from home, striking out on his own, to seek a new life in an unfamiliar, potentially hostile community. Two sources of data were examined with this regard: (a) discussions with final-year students making plans for after the completion of their schooling, and (b) vitae of older people who had returned to Obo. Both pointed to one general pragmatic regularity: the use of contacts resident in host communities. Parents, members of the

same lineage, members of the father's lineage, friends of parents, and friends of various consanguineal and affinal kinsmen are sought as patrons to help start the migrant on his career. The choice of where to migrate thus depends on the social contacts of the migrant.

Members of any migrant's personal network of friendship and kinship tend to belong to the same ethnic groups, if not from the same hometown. In his study of Xhosa migrants, Mayer noted the networks where the majority of their social relationships were migrants of the same origin (Mayer 1961). As Zenner pointed out, in the process of migration, kinship provides, "... links to new economic and/or geographic situations." Although he was describing international migration of Syrian Jews, his following remarks could well apply to Obo migration:

> It has been customary for one member of a family to go to a certain country and set up a store or business. Then he has sent for other kinsmen (brothers, nephews, cousins) to help him in his business. In the past, men who went to work abroad would send money to their families.
>
> Marriage may also be involved in economic transactions. Wealth is still transferred at the time of marriage in the form of a dowry (at least in the United States). Men on occasion will also marry relatively poor relatives from Syria and Israel with practically no dowry.
>
> (Zenner 1970:40)

Symes (1965) has pointed out that a family which has already migrated will attract extended kinfolk, while similar observations were made by Fofi (1962) and Jansen (1969). Williams (1968) in his study of a Lebanese village noted that kinfolk in the village see a migrant as, "... an economic beachhead abroad," and discovered that a traditional institution, patrilineal parallel cousin marriage, was higher for migrants (to Brazil) than for residents (in Lebanon).

Peil (1972:145, 164) noted that about two-thirds of factory workers in the three largest towns in Ghana stayed with kinsmen on arrival to town. The close relationship between kinship and ethnic identification by migrants from similar origins is demonstrated by the manufacture of

kinship ties by fellow migrants to Kumasi, described by Schildkrout:

> kinship relationships among rural born immigrants, beside those formed through marriage, are often voluntarily contracted, through the metaphorical use of kinship terms and the performance of kinship roles
>
> (Schildkrout 1975:249)

Chain migration and its reliance on kinship and friendship thus is an important phenomenon in Ghanaian urbanization, and as the above references cited show, not a unique phenomenon restricted to the Obo community.[1]

In his introduction to a recently published excellent collection of articles on migration, du Toit points out some of the important consequences of chain migration (du Toit 1975). Du Toit dicscusses migrants to Mexico City, citing Lewis (1965:428), who wrote, "... in all cases during this period, the migrants came to live with relatives or compadre," [ritual kinsmen], and Butterworth (1970:102) who wrote that migrants go to, "... the doorstep of a relative or compadre." Mangin (1965:315) wrote of the similar use of compadrazgo [ritual kinship] in Peru (du Toit 1975:7). Kinsmen are important in migration in Western societies as indicated by a Canadian example (Kohl and Benett 1965:148, du Toit 1975:6). In his study of Australian Aborigines, Beckett noted that, "Usually being known means having kinsfolk who will receive him and act as his sponsors," further noting that they would walk two hundred miles to a place where they would be known, rather than ten miles to a place where they would not be known (Beckett 1965:9 in du Toit 1975:6). In discussing the articles in a book which he and Safa edited, du Toit

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1. "The main function of kinship today seems to be as an instrument of introduction of new geographic and/or economic situations. ... For people who emigrate, the choice of location abroad depends to a great extent upon that of one's relatives who have settled there and can be counted on to help in finding a job," (Kane 1968:252, describing villagers from Donegal, Ireland). Numerous other references could also be cited.

makes the important link between chain migration and ethnicity:

> The migratory path and the initial adaptation in the new setting repeatedly involve kinsmen, home boys, or joking group members - thus ethnicity.
>
> ... urban kinship ties serve as an important basis for migrant adjustment in the city and in some cases pseudo-kin relations are created.
>
> (du Toit op. cit.)

In the companion volume (Safa and du Toit 1975), Gugler once again contributes to the sociology of migration, linking chain migration to ethnicity:

> Once in town, many maintain close ties with their areas of origin, their "homes." Rural origin and urban-rural ties are major determinants of ethnicity as expressed in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa today. They establish affinities in the urban setting and carry the competition for resources among different regions into the urban areas.
>
> (Gugler 1975:295)

Writing about European migrants, Buechler and Buechler suggest that these rural-urban ties may account for what other observers may attribute to cultural conservatism:

> ... the continuity of interpersonal linkages that migrants maintain among themselves and with individuals in their place of origin may be more important in explaining ethnic identification than are continuities in cultural tradition (i.e., language, clothing, customs) per se.
>
> (Buechler and Buechler 1975:17)

What all these authors point to, and what is revealed by this study of Obo, is that migrants utilize kinship and friendship contacts in the places to which they migrate, while ties with the hometown and between migrants are maintained, and this contributes to the maintenance of hometown identification. As Hodge pointed out, "... the highly generalized, interrelated, eclectic terms, identity, ethnicity, and self-conception are regarded as being similar if not identical," (Hodge 1975:31). That is what is meant, in this study, by urban migration and rural identity.

In a recent essay about ethnicity and migration, Green (1975:84) cites Barth, who wrote that ethnic status is, "superordinate to most other statuses," and that the determining factor in defining ethnicity is, "the characteristics of self-ascription and ascription by others," Barth 1969:13, 17). This distinction can apply to Obo migrants who first think of themselves as Obofo (Obo people) and as such, part of a larger group called Kwawufo (Kwawu people) and occasionally part of yet a larger group known as Twifo (Akan or Twi-speakers). The question of which of these concentric groups constitutes an ethnic group is moot.

Green (op. cit., p. 85) goes on to cite Shibutani and Kwan, who see an ethnic group as consisting of, "... those who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others," (op. cit.). It is difficult to conceive of the dispersed Obo community as constituting an ethnic group, although they distinguish themselves from other Kwawu. The Obo household composition survey showed them all to be somehow related to each other by various kin links in spite of various origins of the constituent lineages as described above in Obo history. By common usage in Ghana, however, Kwawu rather than Obo is thought of as an ethnic group. Quite oblivious to the sociologist's problem of where to draw lines around an ethnic group, Obo people, when they migrate, continue to seek out kinsmen, friends, and friends of kinsmen with whom to associate in host locations. This is a major factor in ethnic clustering by occupation, interest, or residence.

Although chain migration results in migrants grouping together in host communities, it is seldom in Africa that members of only a single ethnic group migrate to one particular urban area (Mitchell 1960). As Lloyd et al pointed out, "The modern towns are ethnically heterogeneous," (1967:110). Gamble's description of Lunsar could well be applied to

Accra, which is the most attractive single host location for Obo migrants:

> In village studies, one is normally dealing with people of only one tribe. In towns one meets people from a dozen different tribes in the course of the day.
>
> ... In Lunsar were to be found ministers of religion, Muslim teachers, primary school teachers, civil servants, bank clerks, dispensers, native doctors, 'cowboys' (idle young men), thieves, police informers, good time girls ('rah, rah girls'), traditional blacksmiths, skilled artisans dealing with Euclid earth moving equipment and diesel locomotives, laboratory assistants, self confessed witches, rich traders who owned lorries, characters who earned a few pennies toting loads to and fro from the lorry park, peasant farmers, diamond dealers, and beggars. There were men from the villages for whom Lunsar was a big town, men from Freetown who looked on it as a 'bush place' without amenities, men who had visited England and men who had been on pilgrimage to Mecca. With such a range of people multiple forms of segmentation and stratification emerge - age, religion, education, occupation, kinship, tribe - all playing a part.
>
> (Gamble 1963:254-5)

In the wide range of host communities which attract Obo migrants, the degree of heterogeneity, as described in Gamble's words, may be approximately correlated with the population size of the centre. Small wonder, given the bewildering complexity of an urban centre to a new Obo migrant, that he seeks assistance and association with people similar to him. Also, as Mayer (1962) points out, this results in migrants playing roles not only in the city, but also maintaining others in other (e.g., hometown) locations.

The attraction of migrants, in unfamiliar communities, to people of their own ethnic group is encapsulated in an Akan proverb:

> In short, their host and his wife showed them so much kindness that they realized that the proverb is true which says when an Accra man goes to Kumasi and meets Nkramfoa (a certain salt water fish), he is delighted that he has seen his kinsmen, because they both come from the sea.
>
> (Opoku 1958,
> cited by Hill 1963:32)

The part played by choice of language (Greenberg 1965:50) in urban areas (idem) also constitutes an important element of hometown identity. Obo

migrants usually speak Twi with all other Akan when away, except for the sake of politeness when they wish to include non-Akan speakers in the conversation. This was noted above.

Chain migration also has important consequences for the rate of development of an alienated urban proletariat. Walter Elkan raised the question:

> Why is it that, whereas with the growth of towns in England there also went the growth of a new category of people, the urban industrial working class, in Africa the towns are more like army barracks - people join for varying lengths of time, but eventually they return to their original homes?
>
> (Elkan 1961:300)

As long as the present system of land tenure, dependent upon corporate matrilineal ownership, allocation and litigation settlement based on chieftancy, and ancestor worship based on a gerontocratic political system, in Obo and other home communities, migrants will not permanently identify with the cities. Unless they can gain something by selling land and moving to the city, unless they obtain no wealth, power, and prestige by moving back to Obo as they get older, they will not form or join an urban proletariat.

Identification with the hometown and association with one's fellow migrants also leads to potential alienation from permanent residents of the host locations and from migrants from dissimilar communities. The phenomenon is widespread. Abu-Lughod described the growth of subcommunities in Cairo which provided, "... comforting similarities," to rural areas, and which eased the pains and aided the process of assimilation (Abu-Lughod 1961). Nzimiro (1965) discussed the growth of a pan-Ibo middle class, supported by an Ibo Federal Union, resulted in Ibo solidarity which reflected prejudices against them as newcomers with a remarkable prowess in trade, incurring resentments of other ethnic groups. Mitchell noted a similar result of this tendency, structural

plurality (Mitchell 1969). Lloyd, Mabogunje, and Awe generalized this problem resulting from urban ethnic heterogeneity:

> ... differences in educational level or achievement drive lead to the association of the meaner tasks with certain groups.... Stereotypes of those from other ethnic groups take on more force as one enters into rivalry with them.... Ethnic hostilities grow, and tribalism becomes more pronounced.
>
> (Lloyd et al 1967:110)

These hostilities remain potential in Ghana, and have not manifested themselves violently as they did in Nigeria.

Ethnic contrasts appear in low profile. There are relations of assymetric harmony, for example, when Obo merchants in Accra maintain affectionate contractual arrangements with northerners who carry goods or guard the stores. There are subtle covert expressions of tension between Obo traders and those of other ethnic groups, other Ghanaians, Lebanese, and Indians. Often this is expressed as comments about cheating, smuggling, or engaging in "money medicine," against each other. Often, too, speeches by military politicians and editorials in the government press, will warn about excess profiteering, singling out Kwawu traders for special mention. Obo migrants in other occupations are usually seen as unspecified Akan by their fellow Akan and non-Akan workers; it is usually away from the paid employment sector that they interact as fellow migrants from Kwawu, maintaining hometown and ethnic identity. There is little overt discrimination or conflict directed toward Kwawu *per se* by non-Kwawu people.

Although chain migration features in the extended Obo community, and ethnic stereotypes (especially the reputation of being astute traders) are applied by others to Obo migrants, the formation of Kwawu enclaves, *a la* Abu-Lughod (Hanna 1967, Abu-Lughod 1961) is surprisingly minimal.

This lack of ghetto residence applies equally well to other migrants in the town of Obo as well as to Obo migrants in the city. Obo, like Larteh (described by Brokensha op. cit.), does have some ethnic heterogeneity. "There are also a few Ewe, Ga, and some Ashanti, who are either employed as teachers or artisans, or who are women married to Larteh men," (Brokensha 1966:2). In Obo they do not all live in one place. The value of migrants to urban development is expressed in an old Akan proverb, "Ohohow na wode yen Kurow, (with the stranger we build our town)," usually used by elders in the chief's court for begging to forgive any minor transgressions foreigners, in their ignorance, may commit. Obo does have vestiges of some ethnic geographical concentration represented by the now defunct Obo Zongo (northerners and Muslim quarter) and the currently religiously heterogeneous Baseremu (Basle Christian quarter). Now the town is ethnically quite mixed.

Obo migrants to Accra also do not live in one place. Following visiting Obo migrants back to Accra from Obo, I found them living all over the city. Occupationally, however, there is some clustering. Artisans are more often than not found in the industrious Kantamanto market area. Women trading wholesale foodstuffs from Kwawu tend to be found nearby in the open market beside the trains which bring the goods from Kwawu. Wholesale traders tend to have their shops (or try to) in the busy commercial Kimberly Avenue area. This is related to ethnic occupational specialization (e.g., Aquah 1972:30 ff., Hill op. cit.) discussed in chapter three. A number of wealthy Obo merchants have built houses in the Adabraka area. Although there is some concentration of Obo migrants in these parts of Accra, such neighbourhoods are also populated by autochthonic Ga, by other Akan, and by other ethnic groups, while other Obo migrants are scattered about the city. Thus Obo migrants are in daily contact with landlords, clients, neighbours, tenants, fellow

workers, and customers of many ethnic groups.

As hinted above, before Obo migrants leave their hometown they have some contact with people of other ethnic groups because the town like others in Kwawu is not merely a sending community, but is also interpenetrated by cyclical migrants of other origins.

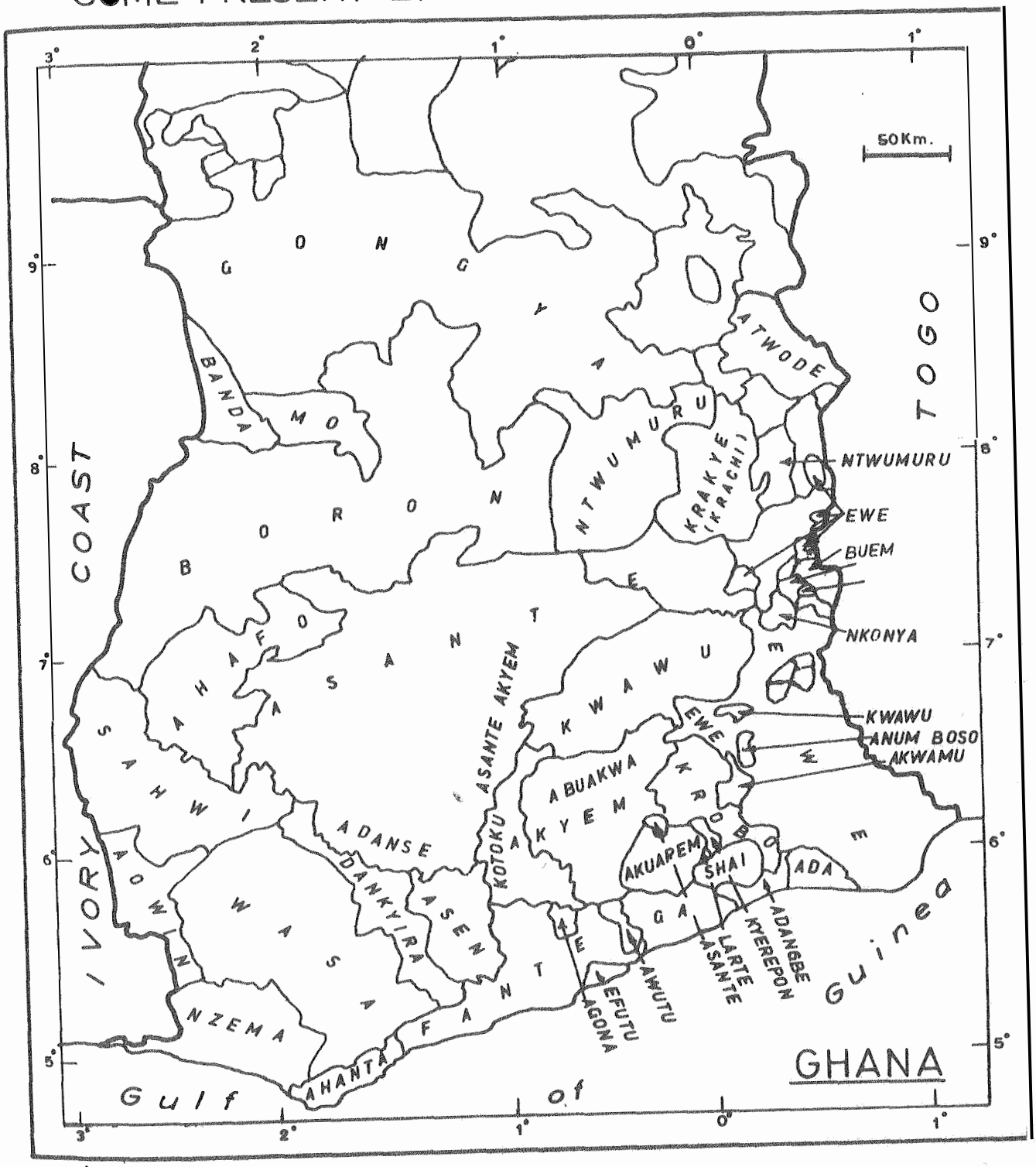
Although Obo migrants move from a relatively homogeneous social and ethnic environment to a heterogeneous one (described by Acqua 1958) in the more urban area, the transition is one of degree. As members of a single extended community that is located in urban and rural areas, they are socialized into a community in the hometown that prepares them for the urban migration experience. Their ability to cope with living in both host and donor locations, and the multitude of identities they assume as they change locations, does not then require a radical transformation. Ethnic variation is an element in their migration, but is not necessarily a trauma-producing factor.

After examining the role of chain migration in contributing to hometown identity, we now turn to the topic of voluntary associations which, in the context of this study, are groups designed to facilitate the identification that migrants have with the hometown and, by extension, with other migrants in the dispersed community.

Society: (b) Voluntary Associations

There are several ways of viewing the development and functions of associations of migrants in urban areas. When she discussed the problem of urban heterogeneity, and the adjustments migrants make to deal with the unfamiliarity of a different cultural milieu, Richards wrote of the reinforcement and adaptation of traditional principles of association. These are related to the maintenance of ties with place of origin. She described ethnic regrouping in urban areas leading to the development of voluntary associations based on ethnic groups (Richards 1963:354). This

SOME PRESENT ETHNIC GROUPS AROUND KWAWU



P.B. / C.L.A.

appears to be the most satisfactory model of the epigenesis of ethnic associations in Accra, and thus to associations of Obo migrants.

Because urban voluntary associations concern themselves with funerals of members and their close relatives, Busia (1950) and Little (1957, 1960, 1965) saw urban associations as substitutions for traditional lineages. This does not apply to the Obo community nor does it appear to be a valid generalization for West Africa. Funerals will be discussed in more detail in chapter six. The matrilineage of a deceased Obo migrant still directs the funeral. The lineage had never "buried" the deceased; burial was left to the "children" (or in Fortes' terms, the "affines") but the funeral was and is organized by the lineage. Traditional Asafo companies, dance or drum groups, and various other non-lineage groups organized for war, communal labour, or play, all contributed to the funerals of members or their relatives from ancient times. Kwawu hunters' cults, for example, were concerned with the funerals of their members and their rituals dominated the basic funeral rites (cf. Fraser 1928:155). Modern urban voluntary associations must be seen to have a significant similarity to these traditional non-kin groups, and not seen merely as urban substitutes for traditional kinship groups.

Ethnic voluntary associations in which Kwawu migrants participate follow a common predictable pattern in that their composition depends upon the size of the migrant population resident in the host area. Where there are fewer migrants, as in the smaller commercial towns, the associations include members from all Kwawu towns. In Accra, where Kwawu migrants are most numerous, the associations are based on single towns. Most Obo migrants who would join an association belong to O.Y.A., Obo Youth Association.

The word "youth" is not a direct translation and, in the Akan context, should not be interpreted to mean, as it does in English, persons younger than 20 or 25 years. Political ideology and phraseology is based on gerontocracy. Even leaders who are relatively young are called elders (and addressed as nana or grandparent) while the demos or commoners are called "youngmen." Abrante (pl. mmarante) in Twi signifies youth in a symbolic and political rather than purely chronological sense. The mmarante as a group have their own leader in the chief's court who plays a role in enstoolment and destoolment. Thus members of this "youth" association may average 40 years of age.

The O.Y.A. membership is rather flexible and tends to vary in size. A list compiled in 1973 included 158 men, 16 women, and 138 wives of male members who constituted the Accra membership. Some women counted as wives of male members while other women, regardless of marital status, were considered members in their own right. Members in branch associations in the smaller commercial towns included: Koforidua, Akim Oda, Asamankese, Bawjiase, Nsawam, Suhum, and among other Kwawu stool towns, Nkawkaw, Obomen, Twinedurase, Pepease, Abetifi, and Mpraeso. Branch association members totalled 94 men, 10 women, and 64 wives.

Among the executives were 14 central positions such as chairman, secretary, porter, treasurer, and their assistants, and a chaplain. Also there were six members of a finance committee, seven members of a discipline committee, and seven members of a social and welfare committee, each of the three committees also having a chairman, secretary, etc. A women's executive committee of a further 14 members (all of whom were married to male members) completed the executive. Honorary chairmanships included the chief of Obo, also Op. Akuamoa-Darteh, the "Odikro" of the Obo community in the Accra-Tema area, and two wealthy Accra businessmen. Various fund-raising events required other ad hoc honorary

chairmen; wealthy businessmen who were expected to lead in the donations. Supporters of the association included the Obo chief and ten of his elders plus the chief of Bepon, and elders from Bepon and Nkwatia. Trustees included seven Accra businessmen. Allocation of honorary and executive officers was relatively generous for the size of membership.

The occupations of the 34 executives were as follows: National Chairman, retired trader now cocoa-farming at Kwawu Praso (an Obo satellite), a taxi-driver, two canvassers, a sales representative, two sales managers for large firms, a photographer, a wholesale storekeeper, two clerks, a cashier, an engineer, and 21 traders in various wholesale and retail enterprises, from petrol stations, wholesalers of spirits, beer, drugs, hardware, provisions, and cement, to retail shops and used car dealers.

There are no regular general meetings of the full membership of the association, the constitution of which is very fluid, but the active members meet from time to time to plan fund-raising events. These events are held in Accra or in Obo, the latter usually on an Akwasidae when elders are expected to return to the hometown to pour libations on the stools and settle disputes. One such occasion, in a park in Obo, was chaired by a wealthy Accra businessman (drug factory, drug wholesale and retail, timber concessions, sawmill, etc.), who accepted ¢400.00 donations each from three other businessmen, then donated a further ¢1,000.00. Over ¢5,000 was raised within an hour and a half, before rain came to send participants scurrying for shelters. The money was used for building a clinic in Obo.

Subsequent "harvests" (where donated produce is sold for outrageous prices) were chaired by other businessmen who were expected to lead in the donations. The money was used by the Obo Development Committee for similar purposes: new school buildings, paint and boards for park

benches, road improvement, etc.

There are a few generalizations one can make from the above described association. As a socializing institution for new migrants to the city, it falls far short of the hometown schools and kinship networks. Membership, particularly at the executive and honorary level, does not favour lower-class migrants who may be in need of institutions of acculturation. Participation of the whole Obo community resident in Accra (about 5,000 persons) is very low, at five to ten percent according to what ages are included in the calculation. It is sporadic, irregular, and infrequent. There is no permanent clubhouse or meeting hall or paid secretaries or staff. Obo Youth Association cannot be seen as an urban substitution for a traditional lineage, having more affinity with traditional non-kinship based associations. Its major function appears to be as a formal recognition of hometown ties, and a means by which urban migrants who have achieved wealth may acquire recognition by participating in the communal sector of the flow of wealth from host location to hometown.

A few smaller associations may function more to ease the pains of living away from the hometown, but they are less conspicuous, and even more transitory than O.Y.A. One such club is the Asumdwe Kuw (Peace Association) founded in 1970, which had a total membership of about 50 women who met every Sunday unless other events intervened. About half met at any one time at the home of a (male) trader in Accra, for the purpose of discussing Obo, their own problems, and their children. Twenty pesewas were collected from each every month with the aim of rebuilding the Obo marketplace. The group bought schnapps and collected money on the death of any member, or whenever any member gave birth. Occasionally, as a group, they would attend a funeral or memorial service for a member or her close relative (male or female) in Accra, in

Obo, or in one of the southern commercial towns in which Obo migrants lived. Organization of the association was characterized by some dissention, and leadership was changed in 1972 due to misunderstandings. It is now chaired by the widow of a wealthy Obo businessman in Accra, herself a successful wholesale and retail trader.

The role of voluntary associations in assimilation of migrants to the city is minimal. As a mechanism to pull together urban Obo migrants while they are in the city, they fall short of expectations. The observation of Tzintzuntzenos in Mexico City by Kemper is applicable: "I was wrong to expect that migrants from the village ... would possess a village based association.... successful adaptation instead depended on the propitious conjunction of a migrant's personal characteristics and on the urban environment's structural features," (Kemper 1975:226). The major role of such a voluntary association is centred on the return of migrants. Personal remittances are sent to Obo as school fees, allowances, and gifts to the children, retired parents, and other close kin of migrants. Lineage and other kinship remittances are sent through funerals, memorial services, and debt meetings of lineages following funerals. General community projects, then, are supported by ad hoc meetings of associations to raise communal money and allow migrants to display their wealth and community spirit by donation. Needless to say, this is important to the political careers of migrants, described in the next chapter.

Since the total dispersed community consists of people in various stages of the life cycle, the population should also be examined as a whole, not merely as a collection of individuals going through migratory and life cycle stages. We therefore conclude this chapter with an examination of age pyramids in an attempt to analyse the community as a single

entity encompassing all ages. The structural features of that single entity can then be examined in chapter five.

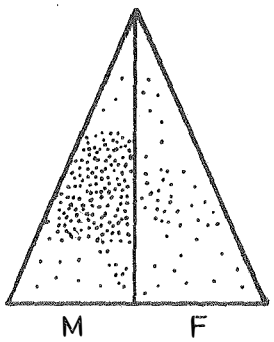
Identity: (c) Age Pyramids

As this chapter shows, social institutions in the extended Obo community must be seen in the context of life stages through which community members pass. At any one time, then, the total community is composed of individuals at some stage in their life, and the structure of the community consists of the ordered relationships between those individuals according to their life stages and statuses. Those who are young have little political and economic power and are often raised by alternate generation (ascendant) consanguines in the hometown, where they attend school. Young adults have a small amount of economic power. Having migrated increasingly urbanward to obtain it, they begin experimenting with conjugal residential arrangements, identify very little with the hometown, and, because of their lack of resources, seldom visit or send remittances back home. Older adults, as they increasingly shift from labour to entrepreneural occupations, visit the hometown more frequently, send more remittances, look more towards their matrlineage, and use their wealth (earned as a result of migration) to maneuver upwards in the hometown political organization. Funerals begin drawing them home with increasing frequency as they get older, while other events such as regular rituals increase in importance with age of migrant. The senior members of the extended community, usually farmers, often after having been artisans then traders, are often in possession of matrilineal offices, symbolized by stools. As gerontocratic or honourarily gerontocratic leaders, they become firmly enmeshed in the "traditional" chieftancy system which is based on a confederation of their respective lineages (described in the next chapter). The oldest Obo people are the most frequent (as a proportion of those in their own age category) among

DYNAMICS OF AGE COMPOSITION OF OBO

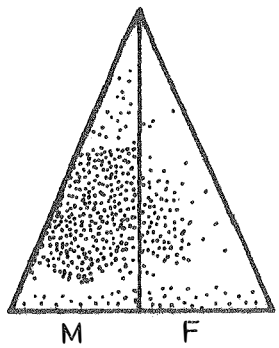
Historically

Early Migrants to Obo



Few migrants, mostly adults, Pioneers, and their immediate off spring

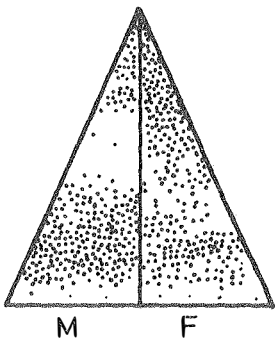
Nineteenth Century Obo



A bustling commercial trading town on the route to Kumasi from the coast. Many migrants of middle ages from elsewhere.

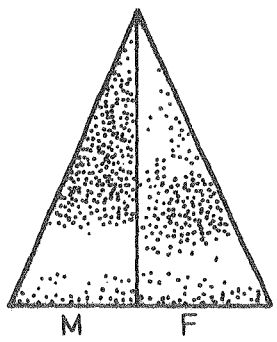
The Modern Extended Obo Community

Resident in Home town



Mostly females, school children, students more male than female, Elderly returned migrants.

Obo Migrants living in host locations



Mostly males, working ages, and youngest children. Males predominate in most urban and most rural locations. More females in middle sized location

hometown visitors; they often move permanently to the hometown before death sends them finally to the hometown location. The composition of the total community consists of people moving through these stages, thus its age structure reflects these stages. See diagram IV:b.

The age composition of the total Obo community, like that of the total Kwawu population and the total population of Ghana, is a pyramid; many young and few old. Because the total Obo population is dispersed, however, penetrating the whole population of Ghana, and because Obo people are located in different locations at different stages of their lives, the age structure of the Obo resident population is not a smaller version of the age structure of the total Obo community. The same applies to the age structure of Obo populations away from Obo, for the "away" population complements the "home" population and the sum of the two constitute the pyramid of the total Obo population.

As noted above, it is impracticable to obtain a complete census of all Obo people, comparable to national census statistics which list the total population, by age, for Ghana and for Kwawu. The Obo household composition survey depended upon information collected in the hometown about visiting migrants usually resident in numerous host locations outside Obo. Because the ties and identification of migrants to the hometown, reflected in their frequency of hometown visits as well as in remittances, vary over the life stages, becoming more frequent with age, the survey data have a regular, observable bias. Young adults are underrepresented in the surveyed population.

In spite of this methodological caveat, a bias in the data resulting from the very topic being studied (identity and cyclical migration), the age structures of Obo populations, in hometown and host locations, demonstrably complement each other. The social organization of the total community, based on life cycle stages, is therefore also composed

of complementary home and host location populations. Cyclical migration is central to this structure; a few old people at the top of the pyramid where power, wealth, influence, and prestige are concentrated and focused on the hometown, more young people at the middle of the pyramid, dispersed in their attempts to obtain wealth necessary for power and prestige (older ones more frequently visiting the hometown as they obtain it), and numerous children, located mainly in the hometown where they attend school, having no power, wealth, or influence, yet being socialized into an environment that covertly instills values and desires to obtain higher status obtained by migration, and converted to prestige in the gerontocratic, matrilineal, hometown-based, political system.

The complementary nature of age composition and social organization is reflected in residence patterns which will be described in the next chapter. People of child-bearing ages are mostly away from the hometown in residence units based on conjugal relationships. Those who are resident in Obo are either wives of migrant men (who may be polygamous) or non-Obo migrants resident in Obo as they pursue occupations that take them away from their own hometowns. The complementary nature of home and away social structure is also reflected in the incomplete nature of the two types of residence groups; they do not consist of complete nuclear families nor of continuous matrilines. Residence groups in the hometown consist of alternate generations in the matrilineage as the intermediate generations are away. Host location households are incomplete nuclear families when wives and children are sent to the hometown or village, or when school-aged children are sent to be raised by grandparents. Thus the age structures and related socio-political structures of the total extended community consist of different but complementary patterns in the hometown and host locations.

This chapter examined social organization from the point of view of individual migrants' life cycles, and institutions extrapolated from roles and behaviour of migrants at each stage. The child is socialized, after weaning, in the hometown, where the matrilineage corresponds to his "family of orientation" found in bilateral societies. He attends school there and sees his migrant kinsmen return for funerals and other events. After his schooling he migrates, usually to urban areas, for some time: child-bearing activities thus are associated with conjugal residence groups in host locations while paid occupations then entrepreneurial activities give him wealth and power so he can think about returning again. Voluntary organizations assist him not only in contacting occupational and interest groups, but also his fellow migrants, and later form institutions that channel his hometown participation. Paradoxically, the longer he stays away from the hometown, the more he identifies not with the city but with the hometown; the more important and extensive become his matrilineal ties (and contractual ties of his matrilineage to other matrilineages) and the more frequent his home visits. The increase in his wealth, obtained in host locations, is diverted to obtaining political power and office at home.

It is therefore now necessary to examine the structural consequences of this distribution by age. The matrilineage must be analysed. The conjugal activities of migrants in host locations must be seen as complementing matrilineal structures of the hometown. The increase in economic power of migrants as they get older is transferred to an increase in political power expressed in the matrilineage. We now look at later stages of migrants' life cycles and institutions that become important in turn: host location conjugal families, hometown matrilineages, and the political system based on those complementary institutions.

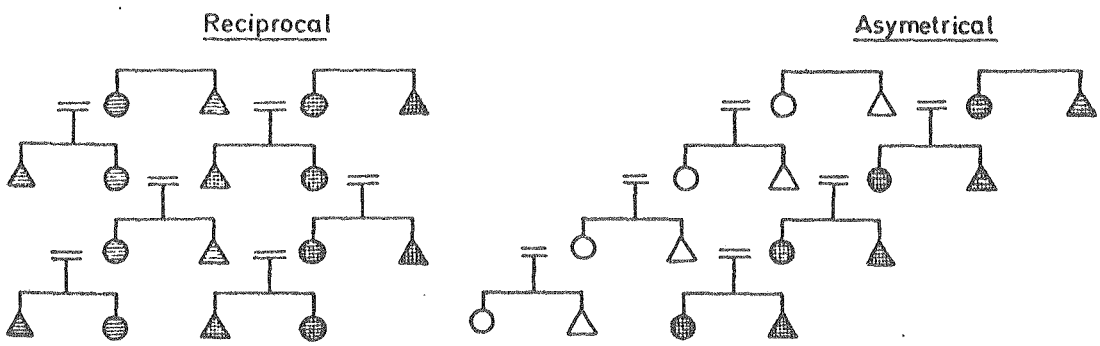
Diagram IV:a

PARADIGM OF LIFE CYCLE STAGES AND CYCLICAL MIGRATION

Life Stages or Social Ages	Occupational Activities	Economic Power	Political Power	Kinship and Residence	Migration Cycle
Baby	prestation	nil	nil	matrifocal	with mother
Child	some chores	minute	minute	matrilineal	hometown, satellite
Student	chores, farming	subsistence	runs messages	matrilineal	hometown
Youth	apprentice-ship	allowance	serves elders	Fa, or Fa friend	host location
Young adult	artisan, worker	income-earning	parental power	conjugal experiments	town, city
Full adult	trader, manager	most productive	increasing	conjugal	city
Senior adult	trader, farmer	control	most power	increasingly lineal	city to hometown
Elder	farmer, retired	declining	prestige	matrilineal	hometown, satellite

TWO IDEAL TYPES OF CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE

BASED ON AKAN ABUSUA (MATRILINEAGE) STRUCTURE



Male ego : patrilateral cross cousin
Female ego : matrilateral cross cousin
(ntoro patriline returns alternate generations)

Male ego : matrilateral cross cousin
Female ego : patrilateral cross cousin
(ntoro patriline lost) but inheritance to daughters son)

CODE :-

Members of abusua A. ○ Female △ Male

Members of abusua B. ○ Female △ Male

Members of abusua C. ● Female ▲ Male

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE DISPERSED COMMUNITY

The social significance of aging, as described in the previous chapter, is manifested in ordered patterns of activity and identifying the roles of migrants in the community. The structural consequences of those activities must now be examined. The social and political dimensions of the community consist of behavioural patterns of interaction and communication, a range of modes of interinfluence including the expression of power over one another, and a distribution of prestige that might take the form of classes or ranks. The structure of these dimensions will now be described.

Both political organization and social structure in the community of Obo migrants and residents must be seen as operating in a context of kinship. In the previous chapter, a biological feature, aging, was shown to have a sociological extrapolation. Here two more biological complements of the mortal nature of people attain social importance: sex and reproduction. The first becomes important in terms of institutions related to conjugal life and affinity. The second, by the extension of relations relating to childbirth, is extrapolated socially to institutions of descent and consanguinity (e.g., shared descent). A range of sociopolitical structures, from household composition to political institutions supporting chieftaincy, can be seen in terms of these two basic elements of kinship. These will be analysed with reference to the role of cyclical migration in the dispersed community.

Kinship: (a) Conjugal Relations

When a young Obo migrant has finished school and has set off to another place fortune-seeking, as mentioned above, he or she often begins as a dependent on relatives. As soon as possible, given some measure of financial independence, the migrant tries to set up housekeeping where there is more freedom and fewer obligations. The attempt has not a little to do with the desire to experiment with conjugal relationships. This is therefore the place to discuss marriage and its role in Obo migration.

In Western societies, based on bilateral kinship with the nuclear family as the basic building block and ideal type, it is fairly simple to determine who is married and who is unmarried. Not so for Obo. Marriage in traditional matrilineal society was once thought to be a contract between matrilineages, although marriage rites in Obo are performed by the fathers of the couple. The marriage bond in matrilineal societies is expected to be weak, and subordinate to lineal ties, resulting in a high divorce rate (Schneider and Gough op. cit.). Duolocal residence made the bond appear less strong, and limited the nuclear family as a social unit.

In the cities, in contrast to rural matrilineal societies, it is observed that there is a high proportion of the (especially young adult) population living with spouses and immediate offspring. This has lead many observers to assert that with urbanization and modernization, kinship based on lineages is breaking down, while a nuclear family model patterned after the Western family type is the result of change. See Caldwell (1966) and Goode (1959). A close examination of the social organization of migration, using Obo as an example, may show that such social change may be slightly more apparent than real.

The so-called conjugal or nuclear family, and the bilateral kinship system, towards which developing societies are assumed to be moving, is best described by Goode:

1. That family is based on the conjugal pair: the most important link then is affinal rather than consanguineal,
   (this may stem from the ideology of the new testament where true believers are urged to allow a man to cleave unto himself a woman so that two become one flesh.... substituting the marriage bond for the sibling bond as the basis of social organization)
2. The network of ties with extended kin is relatively attenuated,
   (in contrast with extended family ties)
3. The conjugal pair establishes neo-local residence,
   (re-enforcing that attenuation)
4. Mate choice is relatively free from parental control and based ideally on mutual attraction of two individuals,
   (called love by the natives - whatever that means - but choice at some level definitely includes economic and political consideratons made by both individuals in spite of their protestations of romance)
5. Descent lines are more or less equal for mother and father with neither carrying much weight,
   (thus the term bilateral rather than unilineal)

(Goode 1963)

In the ideal bilateral system we have a large number of small but relatively autonomous consumption groups which, in functional terms, provide labour for the industrial sector. They take in that labour resource each night, wash it off, rest it, recuperate it, and send it back to the industrial machine each morning, fresh and rejuvenated as a factor of production.

In a theory of structure constraints, part of his study of modernization, Moore supports the hypothesis that industrialism and urbanism undermine large kinship systems, reducing them to some version of the conjugal system found in Western societies (Moore 1965:11-12). In Gough's classic essay on matrilineal kinship she argues for the disintegration of matrilineages because of a diffuseness and transferability of wealth when a society is incorporated into a market system. Individuals

become increasingly independent, economically and jurally, with the sale of their own labour and decrease of joint ownership of land (Schneider and Gough 1961). More recently, Magnarella (1972:362) argued for the theory that industrialism results in conjugalization of kinship. Beginning with a structural constraints approach, he develops a theory of "fit" between the conjugal family and industrialization, adding the notion of goal-directed activity as a factor. He includes the factor of education, saying, "... the more educated a person is, the more likely he is to favour neolocal residence," (op. cit., p. 365). He goes on to amplify this, saying, "Respondents with higher education consulted their wives more than those with a lower education," (op. cit., p. 367). Magnarella does append a modifier to this theory when he observes, "For many nuclear families ... ties with older kin continue to be extremely important for a number of purposes ranging from emotional to economic support," (op. cit., p. 366), and "... the father-son relationship is still a close one with sons frequently seeking their father's advice for important personal decisions," (op. cit., p. 368). In support of his observation of conjugalization of the Turkish family in Suzerluk, Magnarella noted three important categories of change. First, ideological changes include the dissolution of the extended family as an ideal goal, nucleation of the household, and participant kinship becoming more confined to the nuclear family. Second, intensification of household relations include increasing frequency of consultation between husbands and wives on important decisions, decreasing frequency of such consultation with elderly kin outside the household, and intensification of father-son relations. Third, emergence of the individual initiative of spouse selection, and greater emphasis on achievement criteria in evaluation of potential spouses (op. cit.). In his analysis, Magnarella is well

immersed in traditions exemplified by the writing of Gluckman, Mitchell, and Forde.

With all this well argued logic, theoretical explanation, and empirical observation to support the notion of associating conjugalization with urbanization, it may appear to be a futile task to argue for an alternative approach, originating from the Obo data, which leads one to suspect the interpretation of similar data from comparable socities. This questioning also may fly in the face of cherished ideas of some observers, and participants who are often considered to be educated or Christian, or both, and to whom the Western-style nuclear family is an ideal they seek. The argument here is that if the whole nature of migration is considered, the degree of social change in the direction of conjugalization may be less than it appears to be. Before that can be done, migration must be understood.

Already observers have brought in the factor of migration in support of the conjugalization theory, in a way which may turn out to be misleading:

> ... labour migration to the urban industrial areas is positively emancipating the individual from his obligations to his kinship group. Again, if a man wishes to accumulate capital to set up as a petty trader or tailor, or to acquire a higher standard of living for himself and his elementary family, he must break away from his circle of village kin towards whom he has traditional obligations. Everywhere we see the spectacle of corporate groups of kin disintegrating and the emergence of smaller residential units based on the elementary family.
>
> (Turner 1957:43)

The essence of my criticism of this approach depends on the temporary nature of marriage in traditionally matrilineal societies, and the essentially temporary nature of urban migration. It is necessary to return to a life cycle, career, and cyclical migration approach to understand the position of the nuclear family in the extended Obo community.

The tables on ages of the total Obo community show a variation in the age composition between residents and migrants. Those away from Obo are likely to be married and living with their spouse more than those resident in the hometown. This pattern is not unique to Obo:

> We have already seen that the age differential has been found to be important in several studies of migration. But migration intentions also appear to be high among single persons and the newly wed. So it would appear that variables related to the life-cycle do have an important influence on migration intentions.
>
> (Jansen 1969:72)

Boque has noted age and marital selectivity of migrants and put his observation in the context of his analysis of migration:

> There is a series of stages in the development of any migration stream. From initial invasion it develops into a phase of settlement which at its peak becomes routine, institutionalized. In initial stages men outnumber women, but with the settlement phase sex selectivity tends to disappear or even favour women. During initial stages migration is highly selective of young mature adults and persons who are single, divorced or widowed.
>
> (Boque 1961,
> in Jansen 1969:63)

The argument here is that the traditional satellite village pattern (where people of working ages went to the bush, first going alone, or in groups of males, then bringing wives) was related to the total kinship organization. People lived conjugally when away from their hometown, but re-enforced their matrilineal ties when back in the hometown. The factor distinguishing between an emphasis on the matrilineage or an emphasis on the conjugal family is therefore migration <u>per se</u>, rather than urbanization or Westernization. When describing migrant farmers, Field noted that the nuclear family was mostly in evidence when people went away to the rural areas:

> Domestically, the important difference between the "hometown" and the "village" is that only in the village is one likely to find a household consisting only of man, wife, and children.
>
> (Field 1960:24)

Although she was describing Akan neighbours to the south of Kwawu, the Kotoku, my observations of Obo and its satellite villages confirm her observation. The hometown is matrilineal in residence patterns and interests, while the host locations tend to be more bilateral, whether they are more urban or more rural than the hometown.

This pattern is substantiated by histories of satellite villages which are populated first by young men, then by nuclear families, then, after the death of the founders, by their matrilineal relatives. It is supported by life histories of old people back in Obo who lived in villages or towns with their spouses and children, yet are now, often as heads or elders of their matrilineages, living in their lineage houses with lineage members more likely than with affines or spouses. These same people said they had felt that they would live in the Western style, or in the Christian style of family, but changed their attitudes when they inherited lands and buildings from deceased matrilineal relatives. Urban migrants, like those to the villages, live with their spouses in the host community, but return separately to the hometown. Even if husband and wife travel together to the same funeral, if it is to the wife's hometown, they will usually stay in separate houses for the duration of their hometown visit.

Conjugal families, neolocal residence, and the nuclear family are not to be seen totally as an index of urbanization or Westernization. They should also be seen as being derived from a traditional pattern where weak marriage bonds and temporary conjugal groups were functionally related to the operation of a complex, dynamic, yet matrilineal system of kinship.

That social change is often reported where it hasn't taken place is evidenced by an observation of a high divorce rate, seen as a change from a mythical past when divorce was low (Pool 1968). Gonzalez pointed

out that no easy assumptions could be made about marital instability and migration, but was able to make a few observations of tendencies (Gonzalez 1961:1272). In traditional matrilineal society a high divorce rate was not evidence of social disintegration, but functioned to maintain the lineage system (Aberle 1961, Schneider and Gough 1961). Where it continues in the urban area is thus not evidence of a change, but of a continuity. One observer, however, saw it as an index of social change:

> ... data indicate the direction of rapid social change occurring in Ghana. Assuming an increase in the rate of urbanization, one could expect a rise, at least temporarily, in the frequency of mutual consent unions and thus in conjugal instability, and the termination of marriage from causes such as desertion and adultery. The attitudes and behavioral patterns resulting from these types of social change differ markedly from traditional values and norms. For example, as was shown from table 1, urban women in mutual consent unions have lower levels of fertility than do other women, while a high proportion of them have attitudes in favour of small family sizes.
>
> (Pool 1968:253)

Although there is the myth of a more noble past, careful review of the evidence indicates that marriage instability was as much a part of the past as was cyclical migration.

Goode offers four generalizations to explain the shift from traditional kinship systems to social organization based on the nuclear family. It would be useful here to review them and show how the Akan temporary nuclear family, as part of a life cycle pattern within a broader, more continuous matrilineal system, has been adapted to serve the same purposes as the Western conjugal family:

> 1. Industrialism requires geographic mobility - and this cannot be met if kin obligations require frequent intimate interdependence among relatives.
>
> (Goode 1963)

The Obo population is certainly mobile, both to urban industrial and rural agrarian areas. Caldwell (op. cit.) has documented the high

degree of geographical mobility throughout Ghana which provides the demographic context for this study of Obo migration. Obo kin obligations require contact and communication but these need not always be frequent or intimate. The lineage gathers together its most complete membership during its most important rite, the funeral (of its most important leaders). At such times the most important decision, choice of successor, which affects all members, is made by the corporate group. The frequency of contact, other than that, varies with the age and economic condition of each migrant. Older migrants, whose resources permit, frequently return to Obo on an occasional Akwasidae which is celebrated every 43rd day, while heads or representatives of lineages, and others who function in the Obo chief's court, return every Akwasidae.

The flexible matrilineal system permits spatial mobility and geographical dispersion while lineages act as corporate groups only at specified times. This system obviously has been adapted from hunting and agrarian requirements to the needs of commercial, industrial life:

> 2. Industrialism is associated with expansion of economic opportunities and resultant differential social mobility is both a cause and an effect of weakening extraconjugal ties.
>
> (op. cit.)

Pre-industrial Akan society, characterized by slavery, by differential access to land and other resources, and by variations in income inherent in long-distance trading expeditions, was not equalitarian. Social mobility was a feature of the matrilineal system in the past, as it is in modern Ghanaian society.

Although there are strains, the lineage system does not crack due to differential mobility. Rather, the allocation of power within and between lineages is closely related to the changing fortunes of their numbers, as it was in the past:

3. Industrialism results in formal non-kinship agencies and facilities which replace large kin groups for handling common problems of political protection, education, military defence, money lending, and so on.

(op. cit.)

Change in West African societies, as the chapter on economy and technology indicated, is characterized by addition of new onto old rather than by radical replacement. In the religious dimension this was usually described as syncretism. With the introduction of colonial administration, followed by independent government, specialist institutions have been introduced to handle the above cited functions, yet the lineage still operates informally to provide those services. Since the conjugal family operates within an overall matrilineal system, there is no reason why industrial institutions should replace the matrilineage and result in only conjugal units left as a residue:

4. Industrialism emphasises achievement over ascription (or birth) reversing the traditional pattern, and thereby lessening the individual's dependence on his family.

(op. cit.)

Again reference is made to a mythical past and thus present conditions seen as a change rather than as a continuity. The traditional matrilineal system depended heavily on achievement for its operation, although ascription, in the form of matrilineal access to office, was the prevailing ideology. Since the lineage can be maintained without excess dependence on all individuals, there is no reason why the conjugal system, as defined by Goode, should replace the matrilineal system. Instead those elements, many of which have roots far into the pre-industrial past, which are functional in the modern urban context, are emphasized and adapted to modern requirements. The system remains matrilineal overall, with conjugal arrangements seen as part of each individual's life cycle, in the middle, productive years, when away from the hometown, as they were in pre-industrial Akan society.

The analysis of marriage in the extended Obo community, wherein migrants to urban or very rural areas tend to live in conjugal residence groups in their working years, while the matrilineage functions at the extremes of the life cycle, requires a re-examination of other observations about social change. Although Lloyd (1967:171) argued that the nuclear family is a necessary concomitant for industrialization in Africa, that does not mean the nuclear family cannot exist within a flexible matrilineal system. Although marriage may be becoming less a matter of contracts between lineages (referred to as "arranged" marriages by Osafo 1951) and more a matter of individual choice, one must ultimately agree with Fortes, who wrote:

> Urbanization does not completely undermine matrilineal family patterns nor does Western education, and the concomitant emergence of new professional elites, or Christianity, lead to their suppression. They may be reduced in range but, as we can see from the current state of affairs in Ghana, the basic orientations represented in them, the value system they incorporate, remain fundamentally unchanged.
>
> (Fortes 1971:6)

This he wrote following thirty years of observing Akan kinship, as Ghana became more modern, before which the early demise of the matrilineal system and its replacement by conjugal families and bilateral kinship had been predicted and expected by both himself and the Christian, Western-educated elite he mentions.

The conjugal family, in the extended Obo community, is thus a temporary institution, in contrast to the immortal lineage described next. Each conjugal family begins with marriage and ends frequently with divorce, sometimes by death. The conjugal family is associated with residence of migrants away from their hometown. Even visits to the hometown separate the spouses. Marriage and the nuclear family must therefore be seen as host location institutions, whether the host location is the modern city or a tiny village. We now turn to the matrilineal descent

group, called abusua, which in contrast is associated with the hometown. Whereas the conjugal family is an institution designed to promote birth, the lineage deals with death, and is based on matrilineal descent. In the later stages of the migrant's life cycle, as noted above, he looks increasingly towards the hometown, and especially towards his own matrilineage. We therefore now look at the lineage to examine its function in cyclical migration.

Kinship: (b) The Abusua

As an Obo migrant gets older, and controls more resources, whether he had migrated to a rural or urban host area, or both, he increasingly looks towards his hometown. Immediate conjugal and child-bearing duties become secondary to a growing interest in the matrilineage. The Akan lineage has been mentioned a number of times already, and it is now necessary to describe it in more detail. Descriptions are available in the works of Rattray, Busia, Danquah, Fortes, and Field (cf. references cited), so the present discussion will be limited to that relevant to migration and the dynamics of the dispersed Obo community.

Memberships in the abusua are ideally ascribed through birth following the female line of descent. Whether or not matrilineal descent was introduced by Mande Dyula migrants from Mali, or other northern cultures, the old people attribute the word to a legendary chief named Abu or Abo. When his wife refused to sacrifice a child for him so as to win a war, and then his sister did, he decreed that his sisters' children, not his wives' children, should inherit from him when he died. His people copied or learned (sua) from Abu, coining the word abusua.

The same word abusua which is used for the matrilineage, in which all descent links are known, is often used as it is, or modified to abusua pon (pon = supreme) to refer to the matriclan. The latter is a

federation of lineages, ideologically considered to originate from the same female ancestor, although specific kin links cannot be traced.

Although personal names of clan members are not matronymic, the matriclan is said to have an essence or spirit referred to as its nton. Christaller's list of nton names includes twenty-three classes with regional subdivisions (Christaller 1933:601). These again are grouped into usually seven or eight federations within which the clans (though perhaps polyphyletic) are thought to share "brotherhood" (nuanom). There are five such groups important in Kwawu. These groups share the ideology, if not practice, of phratries. Thus the royal lineage of Obo belongs to the Amoakare clan (pronounced Amoakade in other Akan towns), which in turn belongs to the Aduana group of clans which also includes the Ada clan. In Kwawu, but not everywhere else, the Aduana group also includes Sekyere and Abrade. The household composition survey revealed that the population of Obo includes numerous clans, among which the Aduana group, or phratry, dominates, as it also does in the composition of the chief's court of elders.

The major lineages in Obo do not all belong to the same matriclan or even the same group of clans, although Obo is considered to be an Aduana town. All Akan towns, which are confederations of polyphyletic matrilineages, are led by one of the lineages called adehye (those who "look after" the town) or "royal." The adehye is commissioned to provide members who will fill the offices of ohene (chief) and Ohemma (queen). Obo oral traditions assert that the adehye was chosen by the earliest leaders of their respective lineages, in council, sometimes in the past. The other influential lineages of the confederation provide (usually one member each) persons to fill other offices in the court structure of the chief's or town's council of elders. Within the council of Obo elders, representing the major lineages, is a structure, common to any Akan

political group, lineage, town, division, or state, consisting of a head, and divisions into benkum (left), nifa (right), etc.

In the Obo left division, headed by the Kuruntehene (Kontihene), most of the members are Aduana, including descendants of the early founders of Obo, the Ankobeahene, plus the Akwamuhene and Apedwahene. In the right division of the Obo council the Gyaasehene is Oyoko, having connections with Dwaben (Oyoko) since the nineteenth century Dwaben migrations between Asante and Akyem via Obo. Under him is the Gyaasewahene of an Asona lineage closely related to the royals of Kukurantumi of Akyem Abuakwa. The Okyeamehene (chief linguist) is a Bretuo having connections with Asante Akyem. The Banmuhene (chief of the mausoleum) is of a rarer clan in Kwawu, the Ekwonna, and has relatives in Atibie. Elders of lesser status such as the Wirempehene (chief of young men) and many akyeame (linguists) are of the Ada clan, belonging to the Aduana phratry. Most of the latter have connections with towns subordinate to Obo in the nifa division of Kwawu.

For most of the positions in the Obo chief's council, the status of head of the lineage and the office in the Obo council, are symbolized by possession of the ancestral stools. Each lineage has a political hierarchy including leaders of various segments, and this pattern is repeated and elaborated further up the political scale: town organization, division organization, and state (oman) organization. The political importance of this structure is analysed below.

Although the boundaries of the Obo community need not be defined by kinship, all members are related to each other by various interlinking kinship ties. Some of the precise Obo kinship links are quite distant, and in such a large dispersed community each person is unlikely to come into face-to-face contact with everyone else, yet most Obo social interaction, including even that between adults meeting for the first time, is

affected by various interpretations of kin relationships. Ultimately membership in one of the various matrilineages determines the role of every Obo actor.

In the Obo household composition survey, it was found that all the migrants visiting Obo were related in some way through kinship to the head or owner of each surveyed house. In turn, every house owner was found to be related in some way to the important heads of lineages represented in the Obo chief's council of elders. Council members were linked not only by common membership in the major abusua (matriclan) groups (or phratries) especially Aduana, but were also related by numerous patrilineal and affinal ties. Thus the extended Obo community, although not defined by kinship terms, is comprised of a large web of interlocking kinship relationships. Hometown identity is ultimately expressed in kinship terms.

Although membership in an abusua is a matter of descent, it is closely related to inheritance, which rests on matrilineal principles. There is a large element of achievement in the choice of heir within the parameters of matrilineal ascription. Much competition within a descent group is associated with the question of inheritance. The major activity of leaders (discussed below in the political structure) is the management of tensions and reduction of conflicts generated by the choice of succession and inheritance with a descent group.

When a man dies his brother or sister's son, usually if younger than the deceased, is chosen to inherit the man's property or rather hold it in trust for the lineage. When a woman dies, her sister, daughter, or sister's daughter is similarly chosen to inherit by the assembled surviving elders of the lineage. There are exceptions. Two stools, representing offices in the Obo chief's council of elders, both with the rank of Safohene (military general), are currently occupied by women

who succeeded from men. For the most part, however, inheritance and succession is between people of the same sex.

The importance of death and inheritance is stressed in the kinship term for matrilineal "uncle." Wofa is derived from Wu-a-ofa, "... the one on whose death I take," (Kurankyi-Taylor 1951:11) or more literally, "... if (he = the uncle) dies, then he (the nephew) takes (inherits)." Wofa should not be strictly translated into the English word "uncle" as done by most Obo people who speak English. Wofa means senior male matrilineal relative, especially mother's brother. It is used for any degree of relationship from older brother to some distant male relative traced through common female descent. It is usually restricted to the adjacent antecedent generation. It does not mean father's brother, or mother's sister's husband, as the English word "uncle" does. Any older, but not two generations older, male of the same named nton is called wofa.

The reciprocal of wofa is wofase (ase = under) and most commonly refers to sister's son. When very young, a child serves his wofa in the hometown without complaint. When in the middle, working years, an adult who is usually a migrant, tends to avoid his wofa, and thus avoids the embarrassment or loss of face of having to serve. When older, and a minor elder in his own right, a man will proudly serve his wofa, especially on formal occasions, in the hopes that he will replace him by inheritance.

This again reinforces the life cycle pattern of "matrilineal-conjugal-matrilineal," related to the migration pattern of "home-away-home."

When southern Ghanaians use the English word "family," they do not usually refer to bilateral kinship, or even variations and extensions of the nuclear family as do people in Western countries. Ghanaians refer to their "family" as a group based on unilineal descent (abusua) rather than

as a network based on a mixture of affinity and descent.

In the Obo community, descent through female lines is relfected in the list of kinship relationships of surveyed people. The household composition survey determined how all were related to the heads or owners of all surveyed Obo houses. Not all persons were matrilineally related to the head, for other consanguineal obligations are recognized, but taking any pair of parallel kinship relationships which differ only by sex in even a single intermediary link between house owner and person surveyed, the one having the female link appears more frequently. Thus, for example, owner's sister's son resides in or visits a house more frequently than owner's brother's son, the former being a matrilineal relative of the owner, the latter not. Similarly, an owner's sister's son's daughter's son (Si So Da So) appears more frequently than owner's sister's son's son's son (Si So So So), even though both are non-matrilineal consanguines of the owner.

Although both affines and non-matrilineal consanguines are found in residence groups, both in Obo and host communities, the composition of residence groups in Obo is predominantly based on matrilineal ties. In contrast, residence groups in the places to which Obo people migrate, whether more urban or more rural than Obo, tend to be based on the nuclear family, although they often include not too distant consanguines of either spouse. See diagram V:b. This also confirms the "home-away-home" pattern parallel to the "matrilineal-bilateral-matrilineal" pattern, other consanguines appearing as a result of chain migration.

Children of the same mother, even when they have different fathers, refer to each other as onua (sibling). Children of two sisters also refer to each other as onua and, when speaking English, use "brother" or "sister" rather than cousin. All children descended by female links from a common female are therefore, by extension, thought of as brothers and

sisters, and, by and extrapolation of the incest taboo, may not marry. Therefore the abusua, consisting of members related by female descent, is an exogamous group and depends on other lineages for reproductive services.

In contrast, children of a brother and sister (also called cousins in English) are not considered siblings but potential affines. A man will call his father's sister's daughter "Sewaba" (female father's child) and she is often a preferred marriage choice because heritable property would thus be kept in both the male and female lines. See diagram V:a. Although the ideology of lineage exogamy is extended to clan exogamy, in practice marriage and cohabitation does take place between members of the same named matriclan, as long as no kin links can be traced. The reason the Aduana group of clans in Obo (Amoakade, Ada, Sekyere, Abrade, and Aduana) cannot strictly be called a phratry is because, although the ideologies of brotherhood and clan exogamy are cited, marriage within the group is practised.

Matrilineal membership is an organizing element which regulates marriage even further than the familiar exogamy rule prohibiting marriage between members of the same lineage. In some patrilineal societies in the north of Ghana and elsewhere in Africa, a man prefers to take his wife's sister as a second wife. This is forbidden in Obo. The bond between sisters is very important and valued in matrilineal societies, and conjugal harmony must be subordinate to matrilineage descent group harmony. Thus the matrilineage, already coping with numerous strains, cannot deal with the contradictions inherent in the rivalry of two wives (of one man) if both belong to a group that ideally must be unified.

Although a lineage may operate as a unified group in its affairs with other lineages, there are many tensions within it. In the historic analysis of war, many alliances are observed to have been made

between closely related royal families. Federations of lineages such as that comprising the town of Obo are based on the ideology of harmonious brotherhood. Outside Obo, the town has a reputation of settling its disputes amicably as a united Aduana group - thus leaving its chiefs long on the stool. But there are many divisions within any clan. The Akan have a proverb, "Abusua ye kwaem," (the clan is a forest); i.e., when seen from afar it looks unified, but seen from within it is full of conflict, competition, strife, and tension.

Stool disputes are expensive. The reputation of Obo people as misers is supported by the belief outsiders have about Obo people not having many stool disputes. It is thought that Obo elders are willing to subordinate their internal conflicts to the greater objective of keeping money within the town. Obo elders have confided to me their acknowledgement of this consideration, but point out that there are numerous lineages and branches of the whole Amoakade lineage, all contending for the Obo stool. Likewise for all the important stools in Obo. When the honour or welfare of the lineage as a whole is at stake, tensions and disagreements are covered up and individuals who may be in daily conflict will close their ranks to present a united front. Thus the proverb, "abusua ye kwaem."

Although a lineage is based on the ideology of matrilineal descent, there is one male link that occurs in some branches of lineages. In the past, when men had slaves, a man with a female slave could have children by her. If she was not merely a temporary pawn (and she and her children later redeemed by her own lineage), the offspring would belong to the owner's lineage. For most purposes, descendants in the matrilineal line of this union are thought of as members of the original owner's lineage.

When a stool becomes vacant and no one of the direct line is found to be suitable to be chosen to inherit it, a member of the secondary

descent group may be chosen. However, when the elders of the lineage wish to bar an individual from occupying a stool, his slave descendant status is secretly cited so as to prohibit occupancy. This may happen when the descent group of the direct line subsequently finds a contender. When two branches of a main lineage contend for a stool there are hints but seldom public accusations of each other's slave ancestry.

A proscription, attributed to Osei Tutu or some other early king of Asante, forbids the citing of any freeman's ancestry in public. This may partly account for the growth of the power of Asante; as leadership could thus depend even more on achievement than ascription when chiefs with required capabilities but slightly questionable ancestry could be chosen as leaders. The taboo is applicable to all Akan (including the Kwawu), which leads one to doubt its Asante origins. It may go back much further than the origin of Asante, and thus account in part for the ability of the Akan as a whole to spread and dominate the more conservative Guan in the rain forest.

In contrast to most migration in modern times, which tends to be cyclic and individualistic (as was traditional hunting and farming and the foundation of satellite villages), long-distance migration in the past was often conducted in large groups. This was sketched in chapter two. The abusua became an organizing institution in such moves. See diagram II:c. When it was dangerous to travel alone or in small groups, long-distance migrants moved in large groups. These may have included people related by various consanguineal and affinal ties, but the matrilineal descent group organized the move and provided most of the important migrants.

One such move, affecting Obo, has been documented. As late as 1898, a decade after Kwawu signed its treaty with the British, "Pax Britanica" was not fully in operation as tensions leading up to the Yaa Asantewa

War were building up. H.M. Hull, a British travelling commissioner, recorded the troubles between competing factions of the Obomen stool. The disaffected party, headed by Oware, had left for Ada, taking with him, in Hull's estimation, about eighty men and their families, leaving Obomen half empty (Ghana Archives, A.D.M. 11/1145).

The migration of Oware and his party resembled the migrations of the Akan after the Adanse disturbances, which resulted in Akan people populating Kwawu and neighbouring states. Although the British were able to eventually coax Oware's party back to Obomen, the stool dispute has continued to the present, over three-fourths of a century later. The migration of these large groups is usually recalled much later in oral traditions as if it were the migration of only lineage members.

A governor of the Gold Coast, Major H. Nathan, could not understand that the migrations which resulted in the expansion of Akan culture, had also resulted in a kinship system that extended across "tribal" boundaries. In their concern for a neat package of well defined land borders, with separate, internally ruled states on each piece of property, the British wished to order and regulate any of their decisions on land disputes to further their policy of indirect rule. Therefore, when the chief of Pankese (in Akyem Kotoku) explained to Nathan that some Kwawu people (who were therefore not Akyem) were occupying some Pankese land in Akyem because they were his "brothers," the governor ruled that the land must belong to Kwawu if the people were Kwawu. He did not know that matrilineages of the Obomen chief (in Kwawu) and of the Pankese chief (in Kotoku) originally confederated with the Abrade lineage of Ansa Sasraku's Akwamu empire when it had extended to that area. Both lineages traced their common biramous origin to Adanse. When the governor was on tour he had reached Abetifi in February of 1901 and the Pankese chief travelled to Kwawu to state his complaint while the governor was hearing

cases. The governor believed that the Pankesehene, Yao Dankwa, was playing tricks to deceive him, and was quite offended by the chief's attitude and so reprimanded him (Palaver Book 1901, Ghana National Archives, Accra).

In his study of kinship in a developing Turkish town, Magnarella made an observation that raises an important question for the study of Obo. He found that, although there had been an all-encompassing kinship system, because of increasing economic differentiation, few extended families continue to be the units of both production and consumption (Magnarella 1972:370). Observers may see the present situation in Obo and perhaps state that kinship is in a state of transition. There is no evidence that an Obo lineage can function as a business enterprise, in a manner resembling the adaptation of traditional Japanese families to modern commercial society - in spite of Obo interests in trade. What is important here is that there is no evidence of the whole matrilineage ever having operated as a productive unit, even in agrarian society. It was a corporate landowning unit, not a corporate productive unit. Thus what may at first be seen as a transitional state may be similar to past forms.

Of the three factors of production, land, labour, and capital, the former is most important in the organization of an Akan matrilineage. But as Fortes (op. cit.) pointed out, the abusua is a jural not a landed corporation. As Allott pointed out, property is closely related to Akan kinship (Allott 1953), but as history shows, the abusua is separate from its land. The matrilineal descent group may acquire land, and it may move from its land. The abusua occasionally sells parts of its land. Although land is one of the major concerns of a lineage, the lineage is not coterminous with the land it owns.

There is a close affinity between the present practice and that of the past, in spite of new technology, new communications, and new economic institutions. In both cases, cyclical migration played an important part in the economic mix of factors of production involving matrilineage and extra-matrilineage organization. The economic elements of Akan kinship organization include allocation decisions of inheritance, setting up sons and nephews in business, and aspects of farm management, but there is no evidence of any lineage as a unit running a commercial enterprise.

The importance of the abusua, in modern migration, has been analysed by Polly Hill when she wrote about migrant cocoa farmers from Akwapem:

> It is usually supposed that when individual Africans become fully embroiled in the exchange economy (caught, as these farmers are, in the mesh of money) they are obliged to extricate themselves from the 'traditional system.' But the present inquiries show that with these farmers this is not so and that, on the contrary, the migratory process derives much of its strength and impetus from the fact that it is firmly based on 'traditional organization.' Jural corporateness and mutual 'insurance' for the whole group are provided by the lineage structure, but there is also enough flexibility in economic affairs to permit of individual enterprise and private profit during each person's life time.
>
> (Hill 1963)

Her observations are also applicable to migratory Kwawu traders.

A young man learns a trade and uses it to build up some capital for trading. He then attempts to shift his major occupational pursuit from that of an artisan to that of trader. If he appears to be successful, and does not lose his capital, he will be successful in obtaining large sums of money to use in further investment. Older, often semi-retired kinsmen are willing to give him capital if they believe he will be successful. The size of resources over which a successful trader has control thus makes a geometrical leap. Achievement and kinship are both important factors in the perseverance of migrant Kwawu traders.

A man who has previously built up such capital is interested in supporting a son or sister's son who appears to him to be capable of making use of it. The difference between matrilineal (sister's son) and affinal (son) recipient is reflected in the desire of the provider of capital to have a big funeral (provided by his sons) and to pass along wealth to a thriving abusua (his sister's son). The transfer of wealth from returned migrant to current migrant may be inter vivos (to sons) and via inheritance (to sister's sons). The common pattern is for large, immovable property such as land and houses, to pass matrilineally after death, and to be associated with hometown location, while movable and covert property such as money and some business enterprises to pass before death and to be associated with the host location. Matrilineal succession to office (stools, described below) is usually coterminous with matrilineal inheritance of corporately owned resources such as houses and land. Wealth passed inter vivos patrilineally is associated with conjugal obligations and host locations, while wealth inherited matrilineally is associated with corporate lineal descent groups and the hometown. This further supports the "home-away" dichotomy related to the "matrilineal-conjugal" distinction discussed above.

When Obo people live in the satellite villages they often share the work as conjugal groups. Conjugal groups likewise co-operate in small economic enterprises in the towns and Accra. Residence groups outside Obo often include consanguines, both matrilineal and non-matrilineal. They also often include apprentices, and children lent by poor people to rich people; thus non-kin ties such as friendship and financial obligation may also be important in the composition of residence groups. The mix of matrilineal and other social institutions operates, particularly amongst migrants away from the hometown, in both urban and rural areas. Interviews with older returned Obo migrants confirm that this pattern

existed at least as far back as the turn of the century, indicating a continuity with the pre-industrial past. It might be speculated that the matrilineage is declining as a productive unit. There is no evidence of a breakdown of any such function of the abusua because it did not traditionally operate as a complete productive unit at any time in the past.

Further deceptive evidence of the breakdown of the grip of the abusua is the rise of numerous individual "self-made" wealthy people. Often a migrant to the city will make considerable profit from his trading. After fulfilling home obligations, particularly by building a house in the hometown for his mother, he will aspire to acquire farmland. One way is to use money for bribes and litigation to support a close relative or himself in a competition for an important stool. That is a gamble. Another way is to purchase land, especially from any lineage which is not using its land to its fullest capacity, or which has numerous debts.

Land is and always has been scarce in Kwawu Kodiabe because of the small, mountainous area, already heavily farmed to feed a concentrated population. New land, however, is being opened up on the Afram Plains, and recently many Kwawu (especially Obo) people have exploited ancient kinship links, and have purchased land in Brong Ahafo. See chapters two and three.

These lands are developed on the initiative of a single Obo migrant who may hire labour, arrange for abusa labourers, and put his wife, children, in-laws, and blood kinsmen on the land. When he dies his lineage then rules that his "wofase" should inherit. The successor is expected to take on the obligations and duties of the deceased, including caring for and marrying the widows, raising the children, and supporting the rest of the dependants. But the successor is inheritor, both as an

individual and more or less on behalf of the matrilineage. Non-matrilineal members are never asked to leave, but they are often made ill at ease and leave on their own accord, especially as they grow older and their interest turns towards their own matrilineages. By the time the original purchaser's inheritor dies and is succeeded by an inheritor of the third generation, the land and its cocoa trees and buildings more or less belong to the corporate lineage. The third owner holds it in trust for the lineage, and may also have his own privately held assets elsewhere. Thus there is a process of "matrilinealization" of property. This process has been carefully described for migrant Akwapem farmers in Akyem by Polly Hill (1963).

The corollary to this process is that after a number of generations the asset may become unmanageable. Idle lands result because too many matrilineal descendants of the original purchaser have a voice in the management of the assets. In order to liquidate assets of the lineage, to pay debts such as those incurred at funerals, the elders of the lineage will agree to sell all or part of the land in question, usually to some nouveau riche migrant who buys it in his own right. The cycle is then complete.

Without migration, this process would not operate so smoothly. Individual migrants are looking for their own land. Dispersal of the lineage results in difficulties of corporate management, and that difficulty induces elders to sell land to pay lineage debts. Matrilineal inheritance by migrants results in eventual corporate ownership again. It is paradoxical, then, that stool disputes, signifying the centrifugal tensions that tend to split lineages, also function in a system that involves cyclical migration, and contributes to the maintenance of the matrilineal system.

We looked at the conjugal family, then the matrilineal descent group, and saw how they differ but complement each other in the process of cyclical migration. Now we turn again to the composition of household groups, examined above with respect to socialization. Since these groups are based on both conjugal and lineal ties, it was necessary to examine families and lineages first. Now we look at the complementary nature of household groups in the hometown and host locations.

Kinship: (c) Household Composition

Akan households are difficult to classify and quantify. Since the nuclear family, based on conjugal ties and immediate offspring, is not a basic social unit for eating, sleeping, and domestic activity, problems arise in locating and defining such a unit. It becomes apparent to anyone living in an Obo household that the people who cook together, eat together, sleep in the same room or compound, go to farm or garden together, or relax and do domestic chores together, do not constitute the same groups. Participation and observation showed a complexity of arrangements based on consideration of kinship, friendship, and convenience. To minimize the number of questions in the "One Quarter Obo Household Survey," residence groups were arbitrarily defined as those groups sleeping in the same set of rooms in a compound. Miniature genealogies for each house were then drawn and classified according to whatever groups were related by certain broad categories of kinship. The two major types of kinship principles of residence examined were: (a) those based on the ideal traditional mode of matrilineal descent, and (b) on the contrasting ideal of Western, migrant, and urban mode of conjugal or nuclear family units.

The household composition survey revealed the distribution of people in various types of household. (See tables V:a to V:g.) The notion of life cycle as an explanatory device in understanding kinship is

exemplified by the proportion of each age category in the various household types. The data show that non-matrilineal but other consanguineal kin ties are frequently exploited, challenging the narrow view of purely matrilineal residence in Akan society. Purely matrilineal residence groups accounted for only one-third of male Obo residents and two-fifths of female Obo residents. The rest include not only residence groups based on conjugal ties, but also those based on non-matrilineal but consanguineal ties. See table V:f. Females tend more than males to live with their matrilineal and other consanguineal kin. Males more than females tend to live as single individuals, in groups unrelated by kinship, or in conjugal groups.

Artisans and other migrants resident in Obo mainly include males of working ages, who are in their migrant, non-lineal stages of their life cycles. Groups based on conjugal ties, although only one-tenth of the Obo resident population, are mostly composed of people from ages twenty-five to forty-four. Purely matrilineal groups in contrast include relatively very few people in the age category thirty-five to thirty-nine years. Persons living alone or with others unrelated by kin tend to be between the ages twenty-five to thirty-nine years. Groups based on consanguineal ties other than matrilineal tend to attract the oldest and youngest age categories, while those groups comprising combinations of affines, spouses, and extended consanguines predictably show no remarkable variation in their age composition.

The overall tendency is for hometown household composition to be heterogenetic in contrast to adjacent generations living together in host locations. See diagram V:b.

It must also be noted that even the ideal type, by definition, is incomplete, because of migration. Residence units based on matriliny in the hometown must be incomplete because members of middle (child-bearing)

years are usually away in the host location. Residence units based on the ideal nuclear family in the host locations must also be incomplete if children who are weaned, or at least those of school age, are sent away from the host locations by their parents, to be raised in the hometown where they attend school. Even the incomplete nature of the ideal residence types indicates the complementary nature of the home and away categories (diagram V:b), and the importance of cyclical migration in the total system.

Although the Obo survey showed considerable variation in residence groups, by size and types of kinship relationships, Hill's description of hometown household groups is applicable:

> In the hometowns of the Akan peoples (who are matrilineal), households are very large. Each consists, traditionally and usually in practice, of a man who is the head of the house, his younger brothers and sisters by one mother and the children of the sisters and of the sisters' daughters. The point to bear in mind is that men do not live with their wives. When a man marries, both he and his bride stay with their own mothers and maternal uncles and aunts. The wife goes to her husband at night. She cooks for him, on her personal fireplace, in her own ancestral home, and takes or sends by a child the cooked meals to his home. A man provides for his wife and children the number of fireplaces in a large compound shows the number of such economic units. Architecturally, the household is a central courtyard entirely surrounded by rooms opening into it. A married man has a lock-up room of his own. The rooms are seldom entered except at night and everyone lives in the yard. Kitchens and sometimes reception room are three-walled.
>
> (Hill 1963:24)

What must be remembered about the model described above is that any of the members of the large household, including the head, may be absent, living as a migrant in a village or city. The Obo survey showed incomplete lineally based groups, with absent members visiting for funerals, etc. The duolocal residence she mentions is also applicable only when couples reside in or visit the hometown, even when husband and wife live together when away from the hometown.

The question arises about how many of each kind of migrant visit each type of household in Obo. Information offered by informants in the respective interviewed hometown houses (about host location residence group composition) was found to be unreliable. However, the number of visiting migrants from each place away from Obo could be recorded and matched with residence group types in Obo. See table V:g. No startling discoveries were made. The proportion of migrants from various places of residence, visiting each type of hometown residence group, was approximately equal for all migrants. There was a slightly higher proportion of females from towns who visit hometown residence groups based on conjugal ties, and a slightly higher proportion of males from towns who visit residence groups based on matrilineal ties. Both males and females from towns tended to visit Obo residence groups based on non-matrilineal but consanguineal ties. Apart from those tendencies, the proportions of visitors from villages, towns, and Accra were not significantly different.

If the composition of residence groups visited by various migrants reveals little about migration and social organization, the composition of residence groups in which people are observed to live is, in contrast, much more useful for analysis. Although neither the matrilineage nor the conjugal family is wholly represented by or correlated with residential units, an examination of household composition assists in understanding the heteromorphic dynamics of conjugal and lineal institutions, and the importance of migration.

In Obo there is a distinct progression, by age, in the proportions of unmarried residents living with their parents. See tables V:c, d. School children aged five to twenty usually live with neither parent, especially those in the ten to fourteen range. At any age, if anyone lives with a parent, it is most probably with the mother. Surprisingly, more unmarried people of working ages (and if resident in Obo these are

more frequently women than men) live with their mothers than with no parents. Understandably few people in the 45-year and older category are living with their parents compared to the proportion for working ages, but again when they do, the matriline is emphasized.

The types of residence groups in which are found children living away from Obo appears at first to contradict the hypothesis that there is a significant similarity between rural and urban host community social organization. It is obvious that the proportion of children among the urban migrants who live with both parents is greater than the proportion among the rural migrants. This is most noticeable in the zero to ten-year age range. However, there is a greater similarity (in proportion) between the migrants in the most urban (Accra) area and the most rural (villages) area than between either and those resident in Obo. The medium-sized host areas (towns) are similar to Obo in that respect as well as being similar in size. See table V:c. This "home-away" pattern, and the ancillary similarity between rural and urban host communities, becomes more pronounced for the later ages of childhood (ages ten to nineteen). Unmarried Obo migrants on the whole, in contrast, are more likely to be living with both parents (whether they migrate to rural or to urban areas) than they would be if they remained resident in the hometown. The survey data therefore does support the hypothesis of a "matrilineal-conjugal" association with "home-away" residence dichotomies.

We have now looked at two complementary aspects of kinship, conjugal relations and the formation of descent groups. The interests and activities of Obo people away from the hometown were seen to be directed to the conjugal or nuclear family. As migrants got older their interests became redirected towards the hometown and the matrilineage. Residence group composition was seen to reflect this complementary nature.

Discussions of matrilineal descent groups, and the increased involvement of older migrants in the hometown, leads to another feature of getting older: increased political power and influence. We therefore now turn to the political role of matriliny in the dynamics of the extended community and, conversely, the role of cyclical migration in the political organization of Obo.

Polity: (a) Gerontocrats and Stools

Previous discussions of Obo social organization indicated that an understanding of its system of allocation of power would not be complete without reference to age and membership in matrilineages. As Aboagye (1965) pointed out, the Akan family has a political dimension. In these respects Obo is much like other Akan towns described by Field:

> Most country towns are ancient and till lately each was a democratic gerontocracy governed by a council of elders, each elder the head of a kinship group and holder of a small kinship 'stool.' The town 'chief,' with his own stool, was the chairman of this council and he in turn was a member of a higher council of which the paramount chief of a federation of country-towns was the chairman and organizer. Most country towns had their own local gods, priests and religious festivals.
>
> (Field 1960:23)

Although the three important political elements: gerontocracy, nepotism (kinship), and democracy; all also pertain to the Obo political structure, no one of them dominates it. Each of the three is modified by a combination of achievement and ascription in access to power. The dynamics of Obo politics, a mixture of these three elements, is an important dimension of the extended Obo community, and those aspects which relate to migration will be described here.

A sketch of Obo political organization would include a number of topics. The symbolism of the black stool, its relation to ancestor worship, and its function of sanctioning rule by elders (linking age and life cycle to power) must all be included. Obo political structure, and

the part played by Obo in the oman of Kwawu is also a result of history, particularly of successive migrations to Kwawu, and of successive domination by various powers up to the present position of Obo within the independent republic of Ghana. These historical factors should be described. Also the fact of geographical dispersal of Obo people requires an examination of those institutions which bring decision-makers together to determine policy and allocate influence. Since these are done primarily through the settling of disputes this should include a description of court structure and how it operates in the context of the lineage, clan, town, and state. Finally, the collectivity of dispersed Obo migrants could hardly be called a single community without an observable political system. The life cycle approach makes comprehensible the politically pleomorphic ontogeny of the dispersed community. The nature of cyclical migration in that community requires certain elements in the power structure which are not necessarily found in geographically immobile communities, and which will become apparent as Obo politics are described.

The focus of interest of Akan military and political power is the blackened stool. As a sacred object it belongs to the religious beliefs and rites described in the next chapter, but some features can be noted briefly here. The most important distinction between a town such as Obo and a village such as one of the Obo satellites, is the possession of such a stool. As Field put it:

> A 'town' in the Gold Coast is a place which has a chief's stool. Even if it consists of but half-a-dozen thatched dwellings it may still be a 'town.'
>
> (Field 1948:2)

As "war medicine," in Field's (op. cit.) terms, the stool was one of the important cultural elements, along with matrilineal descent, added by immigrant Akan to the cultural substructure of the earlier Guan.

The object is usually a small carved stool closely associated with a revered or respected deceased leader of the abusua, particularly one who had distinguished himself in warfare. His close physical association with any stool during his lifetime, by a process of sympathetic magic, is expected to be extended to the stool itself after death takes him on a journey to Asamando, the land of the dead. Often a bath stool of the deceased is chosen by surviving members of his matrilineage if they so wish to honour his memory. This is explained in the next chapter in the rites of passage section.

The number of stools is limited. The elders say this is because they must be carried into war. Inauspicious chiefs, who did not distinguish themselves during their reign, or who were destooled (removed from office) before they died, were not so honoured or remembered. The stool is blackened with a mixture of soot, certain black herbs associated with strength, and egg albumen. The lacquer from this paste preserves the wood for centuries. The stools are kept in a special room and on certain occasions are honoured with food and drink so as to placate the ancestors who inhabit or possess them. The present Obohene, Kofi Kye, was a police sergeant while the former Obo chief was still alive. After the funeral of Bediako, the royal abusua of Obo chose Kye to succeed. The elders of the Obo court accepted Kye, and the young men did not object. Kye, when blindfolded, chose the blackened stool of Nana Kwasi Asiama, the pro-Asante chief of Obo who had stoutly resisted the Europeans until his death in 1893. Kofi Kye, as the present Obohene, became known as Nana Asiama II.

When a chief is enstooled, he must not be seen eating or drinking in public, and his whole behaviour takes on the sacred non-mortal aura of an ancestor. His being "on the stool" is only an English figure of speech implying his being in office, and does not mean he actually sits

on a particular throne. Enstoolment is described in more detail in the next chapter.

The ideology on which Akan leadership is based stems from the notion that age and experience bring wisdom. This is reflected in the terminology. The most common term of address for chiefs, heads of lineages, elders, and respected persons, for example, is the word nana. Nana means grandparent (male or female) and etymologically may derive from a reduplication of ena (mother), which would mean mother's mother. The cyclical nature of the concept appears in the reciprocal use of nana as a kinship term between alternate generations - thus grandchild. Any child named after an important leader is also called nana as a part of his name. Nana is also used generally as a term of respect for any older person in a manner similar to "sir" in English. Respect for age is the basis of political ideology even in the absence of relative chronological age. Thus a chief is addressed as nana even when he is relatively young, because his office or status implies that he has the wisdom and therefore commands the respect (therefore the power) of an old man. As a living shrine of his matrilineal ancestors he may be considered to be the ultimate old man, therefore nana. For lack of precise terminology, we may call this "gerontocracy."

Other terminology gives clues to Akan politics of age. The etymology of the word "Opanyin" (elder) refers to his "opa" (a polite term for waist; only a young, inexperienced person would use the more vulgar term, sisi) having become "nyii" (matured, old), a condition he is painfully aware of whenever he sits on his stool. Mmarante (youngmen), in contrast, refers to those who "nte" (te = hear or understand, which here is negated by the prefix n) the "mara" (law, custom); i.e., those who do not know the laws.

The cyclical nature of power and age is also encapsulated in a confusion of meaning of akoda or akwoda, both as elder (senile, or in second childhood) and as child. In some Akan-speaking societies it has only one meaning (old man in Fante, child in Asante) but it has both meanings in some towns such as Obo. Age, power, and migration, like the rest of the Akan universe, is cyclical. Busia (1951) and Danquah (1928) have argued that the Akan political structure is democratic. Democratic implies power ("cracy") to the people ("demos"), but power, in Akan society, clearly lies with the elders, in varying degrees according to their rank in their lineage, and its position in the federation.

As well as the biological facts of aging (and a high mortality rate which results in a "rule of few") - another biological accident, sex, is also important in Akan political structure. The variations in sex of migrants was mentioned above, and, as Brokensha (1966:XVI) pointed out, this results in a high proportion of females resident in the hometown. In contrast, the smallest satellite villages, like the cities, have a low proportion of females. This is not new in Kwawu:

> It was strange to see so few women in the villages we passed through. We stopped for a short time at Mramra ... and I saw only five women in the village, though groups of men were sitting lazily, smoking and talking, under the shade trees in the street.
>
> (Moore and Guggisberg 1909:270)

The larger Obo satellite villages, with social structures more closely resembling the hometown, have higher proportions of females resident in them. Moore would have seen more women if she had gone to some farms rather than having looked only in the villages, but the general tendency then as now was for women to concentrate in the hometowns (and larger satellites) and men in the host locations. The reverse tendency prevails for children. How then, does this variation in demographic distribution relate to the prevailing overt ideology? Men were, "... therefore the

lords of the community," and women gave them the better part of their food and offered them their chairs (Ansong 1959:56). This is not the whole picture. The key to the answer lies in the operation of the matrilineage among migrants, and the allocation of different kinds of power to males and females.

Membership in the abusua, as mentioned above, is acquired by hologynic ascription: being born of a woman who is a member of that abusua, regardless of one's father. Although overt decisions are made by men, particularly those affecting relations outside the abusua, harridans yield considerable informal power, in the internal politics of the lineage. It is significant that women tend to be habitues residing near the seat of power, the stool in the hometown, while men are frequently absent. Gynecocracy operates at a covert level. On matters affecting the whole lineage, Obo elders will quietly consult with their mothers and sisters, while the decisions appear to be made openly and publicly in council with men doing most of the talking. The old women are better versed than the old men in the history of their lineage, in the complicated array of genealogical relationships within it, and in the distribution of its membership. The old men, in contrast, are better versed in the hierarchy of the chief's council, and the customs and etiquette of statecraft within the oman structure. The old women are the "mothers" of the lineage; the old men are not the "fathers" but the "uncles," and this domestic distinction is reflected in the allocation of power.

In the more formally organized lineages; e.g., those with important stools or control over much land and other income-yielding assets, the type of leadership allocated to women is crystallized into the office of Oba-panyin (female elder). In a royal lineage (one having a chief), the Oba-panyin, or beldam, is referred to as Ohemma (chief of females and/or distaff chief) which is inadequately translated into English as

"queen-mother." The Oba-panyin is considered to be the mater familias, classificatory mother (or grandmother) of all members of the lineage, including the formally installed Abusua-Panyin (lineage head), whether or not she has given birth to them, or is even older than them. In royal lineages the position is so formalized that the Ohemma has her own independent collection of stools, and her own retinue and regalia. A young Ohemma can be called the "mother" of an old chief. Her youth is overlooked because it is overshadowed by the prestige of her office. She acts as the chief's official mother, and is one of the important "king-makers" presenting a man chosen by her lineage to the other elders of council for their approval. She holds her own court, settling disputes; particularly those within her own segment of the lineage, those relating to puberty rites and women's affairs, and those cases taken to her by women who do not want to settle them in the more formal and more expensive chief's court. The queen mother, more likely than the chief or his elders, is to be found in the hometown. She is thus in closer contact with the women living in the town, while the men are often away tending their business affairs, coming back home for regular rites and meetings. Thus Akan politics, as it operates in the dispersed Obo community, does not utilize a simple discrimination of women by men; but rather a differential allocation of various kinds of power on the bases of sex.

We now turn to the historical development of Kwawu to see how these political elements were each added by migration. The discussion leads to a description of the modern political system of Obo and how it relates to cyclical migration.

The historical background sketched in chapter two clearly showed that Kwawu political organization, and the part played in it by Obo, is the result of composite layers of political influences, each one arriving

and adding to previous ones. As Fage pointed out, traditions are not those of the bulk of the people, but of successive waves of immigrants who organized kin groups of previous inhabitants into states (Fage 1961: 26). The general pattern has been sketched by Park, who described migration dynamics as they might apply to Obo:

> Migration, which was formerly an invasion, followed by the forcible displacement or subjugation of one people by another, has assumed the character of a peaceful penetration. Migration of peoples has, in other words, been transmuted into mobility of individuals, and the wars which these movements so frequently occasioned have assumed the character of internecine struggles of which strikes and revolutions are to be regarded as types.
>
> (Park 1950:349)

Kwawu, like any other Akan oman such as Akyem Kotoku, owes much of its present culture and social organization to the migration of the Akan. Field categorized the early seventeenth century waves of migrations from Dankyira, Adanse, and Asante as: (a) fleeing remnants of forces defeated in war, (b) relatives of chiefs who quarrelled, (c) subject people who had found their yoke unbearable, and (d) fugitives from justice (Field 1948:2). The histories of matrilineages which constitute Kwawu show that it owes its formation to the same types of migration.

Seven historical phases of political organization, each contributing to the present political environment of Obo, can be identified: (1) Guan, (2) early Akan, (3) Akwamu, (4) Asante, (5) Independent, (6) British colonial, and (7) independent Ghana. Gerontocracy and unilineal descent groups characterized the earlier societies. The early Akan who migrated in and who came into conflict with their Akwamu neighbours left their stamp in the form of matrilineal descent groups and the principle of hierarchical lineage confederation. The Asante, who dominated Kwawu for about 150 years, left their mark in the present oman structure of Kwawu with the Bretuo-Tena lineages at the top. After a brief spell of independence, Kwawu came under British colonial rule which led to the

formation of the Gold Coast colony. Obo political structure remained fundamentally the same into independence and the for ation of the Republic of Ghana. Although a more complete analysis is possible, this brief sketch will consider some of the contributions of Akwamu, Asante, Swiss, and British political forces which impinged upon Kwawu.

The Akwamu expansion is the major factor in the importance of the Aduana clans of the present nifa division under Obo. Akwamu is led by an Abrade lineage which in Kwawu belongs to the Aduana phratry. Lineages of the Ada clan (also of the Aduana phratry) in Obomen, Asakraka[1], and Bepon[2], all recognize their Akwamu origin. Long after the decline of Akwamu they remained powerful in the state of Sekyereman, which later became the nifa division of Kwawu.

During Akwamu prominence, the Agona clan at Bokuruwa (kinsmen of Dankyera royals, thus enemies of Asante and Akwamu) were paramount royals

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1. Asakraka (also of the nifa division) has the following tradition, according to Bokuruwa history recorded by Rattray (1927 op. cit.). Mireku Nyampon of the Abrade clan which had migrated from Asumegya and lived at Akropong in the time of Osei Tutu, after the Akwamu defeat settled at Dumponso, on what is now disputed land between Begoro in Akyem Abuakwa and Asakraka in Kwawu. Danso Brempong, the ruler of Asakraka, generously allowed Mireku Nyampon to become the chief. "Opanin yi waye ade se wa sakra, ne dibia de ama ne yonko" = This elder has done well to surrender his right of title to a neighbour; thus the name Asakraka (Ameyaw 1963:7). Rattray's Bokuruwa tradition is a bit different, putting the clan as Amoakare, but still of the Aduana group, and not mentioning Akwamu. Lead by Mireku Nyampon they received land from Badu under Pitiko. The name is derived from Asakram = mpene (also called Badia) ra ka = to remain; it was caught in a trap and became rotten (Rattray 1927:II:3093). Bokuruwa tradition (of an Aduana history) is the least reliable in this.

2. Another town now in the nifa division of Kwawu under Obo is Bepon. These people, like Obomen, came from Akwamu under Siakomea, of the Ada clan, and according to Bokuruwa tradition, received land through Adamu Yanko, chief of Nkwaefo (Rattray 1927:II:3893).

of Kwawu. Seeking a trade route down the Volta to the coast,[3] the Agona clan under Adom clashed with Akwamu led by Akonno.[4] Some time after 1710, Akwamu defeated the Kwawu Agona clan[5] and Akwamu extended its influence north as far as Dukoman where the Agona had formerly chased the Bretuo-Tena people on their arrival to Kwawu.

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3. The British traders described the conflicting interests as follows:

> The waterside country people are desirous to have the traders give them their gold teeth and slaves to bring us to sell, and then they give the upland people what they please for it; to which the upland traders are not willing, and this often causes contests and disappointments in trade. The Quamboes, on that account, have for a long time hindered the Akims and Quows, two upland countries, from coming to Accra.
>
> (Thomas et al 1709
> in Furley collection: No. 38, p. 103)

4. Rattray obtained the following account of Kwawu Asabi relations with Akwamu:

> Badu died at Asabi, and is buried there. He was succeeded by Nana Adom, his nephew. The Denkyira war took place at this time, but the Kwawus who remained behind (Abene section) did not take part in it, being '... under Badu at Asebi' ... He made a war against Akwamu Chief Akono ... (unreadable handwriting, appears to be details about the battle) ... Adom was killed in the war. Nana Adom (buried at Asabi) was a medicine man ... (unreadable) ... Kwakye Anamua, or Kwau Kwatete ... (?) ... He was succeeded by Nana Mfodwo (buried at Asabi) his nephew.
>
> (Rattray 1927:II:3124-8)

5. Akwamuhene, Akonno, is mentioned by Danish merchants who wrote, "On 11 February, Aquando with his following went away to seek his enemy Adom - or the Quahus," (Ljgaard 1710:April 14, trans. by Furley N.28, p. 115). Kea (1967:26) quotes from the minutes of the Meeting of Council, at which the following report was read of Mr. Johan Phillip Lytzen's Journey Overland from Fida to Accra; entries for 22 Dec., and 24 Dec., 1718:

> Lytzen then travelled to Anlo country, where the local traders told him 'that they were in communication with the inland natives by canoe, and that the river had many arms or branches which the natives lived, it was abundantly supplied with ivory and slaves. [These inland peoples] were carried off by the Aquamboes and on the other side by the Quahese, from whence they were transported from Ardra and Fida.

Akwamu influenced Kwawu prior to the arrival of the present Amoakade royals of Obo, yet while earlier members of the Aduana group of clans were resident in Kwawu Sekyereman. When lineages of the Ada or Aduana clans dispute today, with each other or with the Amoakade of Obo, the cases may still be taken to Akwamu for settlement even though Akwamu is only a vestige of its former power.[6]

Of all the forces contributing to the political development of Kwawu, the Asante empire was most influential:

> Okwawu from an early date in the eighteenth century until 1875 formed a part of the Ashanti confederacy, and, it is reasonable to suppose, that as a consequence its customs have received the stamp of the most developed type of Twi government.
>
> (Crowther 1906:167)

With the help of Asantehene Opoku Ware, the refugee Bretuo-Tena returned from Dukoman (while the Agona clan were away fighting at Asabi) to assume paramouncy in Kwawu Kodiabe. The Asante wanted their Bretuo-Tena allies (kinsmen of Asante Mampong) to control Kwawu, rather than the Agona of Bokuruwa (kinsmen of Dankyera). Thus the Asante could travel through friendly territory, then south through Akwamu, to the coast, an alternative to the direct route through enemy Dankyera and Fante

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6. The only time I have witnessed the Obo chief standing up to address elders in his own palace court was when the Akwamu chief was present. The chief of Bepon had come into conflict with the paramount chief of Kwawu and had gone to the paramount chief of Akwamu for assistance. Since Bepon is under Obo in the nifa division of Kwawu, the chief of Akwamu first came to Obo to say that he had been invited to hear the case and ask the opinions of the Obo elders.

territory. To protect Asante interests, they installed a "governor" of Kwawu at Abetifi.[7] (See chapter two.)

Under Asante influence a new state, Kwawu Kodiabe, was created, with the Bretuo-Tena located at Abene (paramount) and Abetifi (adonten). They put an allied lineage, the Dwumina, related by marriage to Abene, in charge of all the Asona clans; Dwumina belongs to the Asona phratry. The town of Aduamoa, led by that Dwumina lineage, then became head of the benkum division of the new state. They put an Amoakare lineage, related by marriage to Abetifi, in charge of all the Aduana clans; Amoakare belongs to the Aduana phratry. The town of Obo, led by that Amoakare lineage, then became head of the nifa division of the new state. What had been the state of Sekyereman during the time of Agona rule of Kwawu became the right-wing division of the reorganized oman of Kwawu led by the Bretuo-Tena. The new state was thus not only part of the expanding Asante empire, it was also patterned after the Kumasi model.

The Asantehene obtained the right to interfere in Kwawu affairs and his council in Kumasi was the final court of appeal. Kwawu chiefs could declare war at will but were required to kra (say "goodbye"; i.e., seek leave from) the Asantehene before actually fighting. No slaves, gold, or other tax or tribute was exacted, but Kwawu chiefs were required to attend the annual odwira (ablution rite) at Kumasi, bringing one sheep for each division: adonten, benkum, and nifa. (There was no kyidom

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7. The selection of Abetifi as site of Asante district headquarters when Asante controlled Kwawu was cited by Abetifi and Abene people who objected to British district headquarters being located at Mpraeso. The Okyeamehene (chief linguist) of the Kwawu Omanhene wrote to the British and requested that they move the D.C.'s office from Mpraeso to Abetifi:

> ... because Abetifi is the town which authorities use to lodge; viz., when we were under the King of Ashanti, one representative, Antwi Akomea, was sent to Kwahu by the King of Ashanti to protect us; he was stationed at Abetifi.
>
> (Gyima 1913)

division yet at that time and Pepease was under Abetifi.)

The Obo royals were grateful to the Bretuo-Tena who, on their return to Kodiabe, helped defeat and expel Kotoku slave-raiders who had been harassing Obo people. The Kotoku were defeated at a battle on Odonkoso hill near Obo and as a result the Abetifi chief, Koranten, was named "Agyeman" (state saviour). Obo became the "wife" of Abetifi as Aduamoa was the "wife" of Abene. An actual wife was sent by each, to become respective "stool wives," and were replaced by a "sororate" institution on their deaths. Centripetal tensions in Kwawu, even today, are often expressed by Obo seeking a "divorce" from Abetifi. Even though Obo paid allegiance to Abene, its prime loyalty was to Kumasi. Obo maintained its loyalty to Asante and only reluctantly followed Abetifi and Abene in withdrawing from the disintegrating Asante empire after the Sagranti warof 1874. The main contribution of Asante, then, was the formation of the oman of Kwawu, and frequently that structure has been threatened since it left the Asante empire, by the desire of Obo to opt out and lead Sekyereman as a separate oman.

The fourteen-year period of Kwawu independence (1874 to 1888) could also be called the "Swiss" era, for it marked the arrival of the Basle missionaries who were instrumental in guiding Kwawu out of the sphere of Asante influence and into that of the British. The Kwawu began by murdering Antwi Akomea, matrilineal descendant of Essen Kwadwa who had been sent as the first Asante governor of Kwawu, to reside in Abetifi. Forty others of his party were also killed. The Abetifi people spared the descendant of sword-bearer Dongwa (Essen Kwadwa's aide) because he was of an Agona lineage (Kotoku), but his sword was sent to the Okyenhene at Kibi. While the Bretuo-Tena leaders at Abetifi and Abene sought to withdraw from Asante and to ally with Britain, Obo led the pro-Asante resistance to this development. Secret links were maintained between Obo and

its sister town, Agogo (also led by Aduana royals) which remained within Asante. Obo and the other Aduana towns of the nifa division frequently came close to withdrawing from Kwawu and, as the re-established oman of Sekyereman, rejoining Asante.

The independent years continued to see a transition to European rule. The Kwawu leaders did not wish to offend the British whose protection (against Asante) they sought. The missionaries, when visiting Abene, were invited by the Omanhene to advise on the punishment of a man from Obo who had murdered a ten-year-old boy. Although by traditional law they would execute the man, they were inhibited by their belief that it would give them a bad reputation with the English government (Dilger 1880:July 3, op. cit.) for they misunderstood British opposition to ritual (funerary) killing.

In February of 1881 the Kwawu chiefs sent a second embassy to Accra when they heard that a new governor, Rowe, had been appointed. They were still requesting British protection (Ramseyer 1881:June 10, Jenkins 1970:136). When preparing to go to Kumasi, missionary Mohr noted that Kofi Denkyi, the Abetifi chief, feared the visit would have political repercussions. Maintaining the policy of non-alignment with Asante, and pro-British sentiment, Denkyi forbade the missionaries from recruiting carriers from Abetifi, so they got them in Mpraeso (Mohr 1881:September 28, Jenkins 1970:149).

In 1885 when Ramseyer wrote about Asante ambassadors arriving with a great sum of money to negotiate the return of Kwawu to Kumasi allegiance, he noted that the missionary presence was an important factor in pro-British sentiment in Kwawu. Had the missionaries arrived only four weeks later (in 1876), according to Ramseyer, they might not have secured Kwawu (Ramseyer 1885:October 16, Jenkins 1970:203). As the power of Asante was disintegrating, Ramseyer argued for the extension

of their mission to Agogo in Asante Akyem (op. cit.). Meanwhile Obo maintained a secret link with Agogo, "The most notable town in Eastern Ashanti", the chief of which was "very loyal to the Asantehene," (Mohr op. cit.). Obo disagreed with the Bretuo-Tena policy of withdrawing from Asante to seek European alliance.

Well into the British era of Kwawu development, the split continued between the Bretuo-Tena (Abene and Abetifi) factions in favour of European alliance and the Aduana (Obo and the nifa division) factions in favour of Asante alliance. Edwards (1900) wrote that Obo was disloyal and Obo people assisted the Asante. Although Kwawu was a British protectorate during the 1900 Yaa Asantewa War between Britain and Asante, the Basle missionaries noted the pro-Asante faction led by Obo:

> ... there has been a great danger that Kwahu chiefs would join the Ashantees.
>
> I think the principal hindrance has been the revolt of the chief of Obo against the King; on account of this the chiefs were divided. I got to hear that most of the chiefs met at Aduamoa and decided to let Wiredu, the dethroned king now at Accra, come back. I suppose they could have put him on the throne again and joined the Ashantees! - Since February the chief of Obo is in open revolt against the king and does not obey any of his orders; it was a great hindrance to Mr. Johnson when he was here. I have got to hear that many young men of Obo went to fight with the Ashantees and just now I received a letter from our teacher at Akwasihu, stating that Obo people are continually passing to Agogo with powder, weapons, and ammunitions; I don't know if it is done with the connivance of the chief. I have told the king to send people on the road to Agogo to stop this and I believe he will do it.
>
> (Perregaux 1900:June 2)

The part played by Obo smugglers was noted earlier, but what is noteworthy here is the element of political factionalism dividing Kwawu, as early as the Sagranti War. By 1907 the Kwawu Omanhene was to write that Obohene Kwame Kye no longer recognized Abene (Akuamoa IV 1907). Obo and the nifa division have reluctantly stayed in the Kwawu oman up to the present, but the unity of the oman is a tenuous thing, with periodic statements from Obo about its independence.

Sixty-nine years of formal association of Britain with Kwawu was long enough (two generations) to effect a complete turnover in the population holding offices. From a treaty of protection and friendship, the association developed into a colonial relationship, and Kwawu was added to the Gold Coast Colony, which in turn developed into part of the independent state of Ghana.

During those years Obo and Kwawu political organization remained fundamentally the same while increasingly being incorporated into the developing national structure. In 1923 Pepease disputed with Abetifi and was made head of a new kyidom division. The British policy of indirect rule was applied by recognizing and supporting chieftaincy. Therefore institutions based on matrilineal descent and inheritance, and rule (usually manifested by conflict settlement) by elders chosen by their respective lineages, all survived and adapted to the new conditions as relicts. Although the British were aware of the formal overstructure of Akan politics, they overlooked the more democratic informal base that was as functional as the formal in traditional society, and had acted as a check against abuses of the power system.

British political control over Kwawu was at first exercised primarily by settlement of local disputes, one of the most important traditional expressions of authority (of chiefs). Disputes between Obo and Abene continued. Occasionally Aduamoa also sought independence from the oman of Kwawu. Numerous disputes with all neighbouring states led to boundaries being drawn by British administrators. Obo claims to have lost land stretching almost to Pankese during the period. Because of German possession of Togo, part of which was later mandated to Britain but not put within the colony, the lands of Pae (Dukoman) and Asabi were put under the authority of the Kratchie chief. Kwawu thus lost lands as a result of British administrative expediency. Primarily,

however, the colonial administrators formalized and regularized the traditional or historical political system based on a hierarchical confederation of matrilineages lead by their elders.

Two important elements, the youngmen and the educated, did not receive British recognition or support. Mmarante (lit. "those who do not hear the law;" crudely translated into English as "youngmen") in each of the Kwawu towns constituted one such element. As free, young adults their status was comparable to the demos of ancient Greek society, and considered roturiers by the English who called them commoners. They comprised an important resource on which the chiefs and elders drew for communal labour, warfare, and ceremonial support. Youngmen also acted as a political balance and an ochlocratical check against excessive autocratic rule, malversation, or extortion by chiefs. When they were organized into groups for warfare, each group was known as an asafo (company or congregation). The other important element was a growing number of educated Africans who later developed into the Ghanaian elite, but meanwhile were demanding from the British a part in the political decision-taking process of the colony. Within Kwawu itself the educated played a relatively minor role, apart from an interesting cadre of clerks on which the chiefs depended for their communication with the British. Chief's clerks often took advantage of their brokerage positions between the youngmen, the chiefs, and the British. The mmarante, however, were formerly organized into separate groups in each town, but found common purpose in their ructious opposition to the chiefs. The youngmen reorganized into more militant "Asafo Kyenku" (from atwene or akyene = drum) in a united Kwawu group (in contrast to the earlier separate town-based groups) to oppose the chiefs and, by association, the British administration.

Other developments contributed to changes in political organization by putting strains on the formal structure. Cash-crop farming, especially the lucrative cocoa industry resulted in numerous migrant cocoa farmers becoming even more wealthy than the chiefs and elders. Trade, particularly in the commercial towns rapidly expanding in the cocoa areas, gave even more wealth to some parvenue mmarante who felt entitled to a greater corresponding voice in politics. A growing stratification structure, differential social mobility, migration, and urbanization, all contributed their tensions and strains on the political structure. Rowdy demonstrations by militant Asafo Kyenku every few years, as well as witchcraft accusations and the growth of witch-hunting cults (e.g., Tigare), were all symptoms of tensions in the period.[9] Demobilization of returning soldiers who had become more aware of the larger world, and who insisted on obtaining a greater share in the fruits of modernization, also contributed. All these forces, especially the elements overlooked by the Sassenach who wished to support only the formal structure, contributed to the independence movement and the formation of the Gold Coast Convention Party followed by the more militant Convention People's Party. Similar forces worked throughout the colony; and hometown communities all dispersed by migration and interpenetrating each other (most

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9. Details of the "Yi Abeyi" (purge witchcraft) cults in Kwawu and their relationships to Asafo Kyenku movements, as observed by colonial administrators, are to be found in S.N.A. 26, 43, 636 and 738 files of A.D.M. 11/687, A.D.M. 11/738, and A.D.M. 11/1445 of the Ghana National Archives, Accra. Further details about youngmen disturbances are found in Harper (1914), Ntim (1918), Earding (1920), Smyly (1928), and described (as a populist movement) by Simenson (1974). The Asafo Kyenku as an organization reaching beyond individual towns may, in contrast to common belief (e.g., Simenson op. cit.), date to prior to British protection and colonial rule, Addow (n.d.:52) wrote that a nationwide Kyenku had formed during the dispute of the Awurahae salt monopoly (also mentioned by Rattray who noted Kumawu - Kwawu conflict), which the Asante wanted to control at the expense of Kwawu. The dispute occurred during the reign of Odehye (member of royal lineage) Kofi Dankyi of Abetifi, who later became on Omanhene of Kwawu. The dispute predates the 1874-6 declaration of Kwawu independence from Asante.

noticeably in the urban areas) resulted in the formation of a modern nation state. Obo continued to be a part of Kwawu, which in turn was a part of the Gold Coast Colony, a collection of interpenetrating communities.

In 1954, elections were held throughout the colony and in the "Kwahu South Electoral District" five people ran as independent seats in the legislature, and one ran as C.P.P. William Abera Wiafe (C.P.P.) won with 1,726 votes (second, Tweneboa, had 1,122). Wiafe (b. 1921) had been a store messenger promoted to storekeeper in Sekondi, opened his own business in Koforidua then, after moving to Accra, established Youngsters Stores, visited U.K. in 1949, later travelled widely in Europe, and became the first treasurer of the Gold Coast Chamber of Commerce. In "North Kwawu," Irasmus Issac Preko (Ind.) won, over a C.P.P. and two other independent contestants, while he was still in England (Daily Graphic 1954:June 15). Thus Kwawu had its representatives in a national government in preparation for independence, and the establishment of the nation of Ghana in May 1957.

This completes an analysis of the basic elements of Obo politics, and the developments leading to the present, past colonial period. What is necessary now is to examine how the current political system of Obo operates, and the roles that politics play in migration or those that cyclical migration play in politics.

Diagram V:6

WING DIVISIONS OF THE OMAN OF KWAWU

Division	Chief	Town	Clan	Subordinate Towns	(Clan)
1. Oman (State)	Omanhene (Paramount)	Abene	Bretuo		
Gyaase (Domestic)	Gyaasehene (Domestic)	Atibie	Oyoko	Akankoase[1]	Bretuo
2. Adonten (Vanguard)	Adontenhene (Van)	Abetifi	Tena	Bokuruwa[2]	Agona
				Nkami	Tena
				Nteso	Bretuo
				Aframso	Tena
3. Nifa (Rightguard)	Nifahene (Right)	Obo	Amoakade	Obomen[3]	Ada
				Bepon[4]	Ada
				Asakraka	Ada
				Pitiku[5]	Aduana
				Ahinase	Aduana
				Sadan	Aduana
				Danten	Oyoko
4. Benkum (Leftguard)	Benkumhene (Left)	Aduamoa	Dwumina	Nkwatia[6]	Asona
				Mpraeso	Asona
				Tafo[7]	Asona
5. Kyidom (Rearguard)	Kyidomhene (Rear)	Pepease[8]	Bretuo	Twinedurase	Bretuo
				Akwasiho	Tena
					Bretuo

Heads of each division are responsible directly to the Omanhene (paramount chief) who is a member of the Bretuo clan whose stools are in Abene. Subordinate towns are responsible to the heads of their respective divisions. Disputes which cannot be settled at the lineage level are taken to the court of the town chief. Likewise those at the town level are taken to the head of the division, and the same for divisions to the court of the Omanhene. Under Asante suzerainty, disputes the oman could not settle were taken to Kumasi, whereas under British rule, and at present, they are taken to the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs.

Notes:
1. Banmuhene of Kwawu (controller of state mausoleum)
2. Former Omanhene of Kwawu before Asante suzerainty
3. Nifahene of Sekyereman
4. Benkumhene of Sekyereman
5. Former Nifahene of Kwawu under Bokuruwa
6. Former Benkumhene of Kwawu under Bokuruwa
7. Twafo or pathcutters in war
8. Pepease was under Abetifi in adonten division, until 1923

Polity: (b) Modern Political Organization

Allocation of power and the dynamics of institutions which currently function in the execution of social control and conflict settlement are clearly adaptations of cidevant forms, with some heterochthonous institutions impinging from outside the town. Caducity is still an important political element; hence its description here. The extant political institutions are based on the chieftaincy system (primarily composed of kinship and gerontocratic elements) but within a neoteric civil administration introduced by the British.

The importance of the abusua to the political system clearly rests on the fundamentally political and jural nature of the matrilineal system:

> The most striking thing about Ashanti and Akan descent concepts is the precise formulation, and the institutionalization in traditional thought, more precisely in traditional political and legal thought, of the concept of the matrilineal lineage as a single, ideally perpetual, juristic person, and not as an economic organization or a property-centered corporation as some people thought, but quite definitely a juristic and political entity.
>
> (Fortes 1974:10-11)

To extend Fortes' perceptive comment, certain other features of the abusua must be noted. Although it is not a land-centred or an economic corporation, the abusua, in its political capacity, is concerned with decisions about praedial and other property allocation. The geographically dispersed feature of the abusua and its varying degrees of corporate activity, maximal after the death of its leaders, is politically important. Relations between mbusua, important in tension management and conflict settlement, also must not be overlooked.

The political activities of matrilineal descent groups operate within the national jural system of the nation. Obo has no resident police, jail, criminal or civil court, or other national administrative office or institution. However, it is considered a "town" (krom) because

it has blackened stools. National political or jural offices affecting Obo are located in Mpraeso and Nkawkaw. Mpraeso, under Aduamoa and Nkwatia in the benkum division of Kwawu, was selected by the British for district headquarters. Nkawkaw was raised in status from dorp to village as late as 1974 by the Kwawu Traditional Council, although it has been the most important and populous Kwawu entrepot since the railway came in 1923. Nkawkaw was a satellite of Obomen (partly on Atibie land) until its black stool was created in 1974. Its chief was raised from Safohene (of the Obomen court) to Odikro (chief of village) which is a rank lower than Ohene (chief of town). Although it serves Obo through Obomen in the traditional structure, it is the location for national administrative offices affecting Obo.

Criminal and certain other civil problems affecting Obo are dealt with by the national judiciary, including law courts and a police force. There are no courts of law or national police barracks in Obo. During the colonial regime, two policemen were assigned to the Obo chief. Now the police in Mpraeso serve the needs of the nearby towns on the escarpment. There is a minor court in Mpraeso, and a major and minor court in Nkawkaw. With good roads and a tolerable telephone system, this is felt to be adequate service for towns such as Obo. Meanwhile the council of elders continues to operate where institutions of national administration are not required.

The major responsibility of the chieftaincy system, conflict settlement, should be seen as operating along a spectrum with local, familial, and informal activity at one end, and regional, extrafamilial, and formal at the other. Small local disputes are taken by the disputants to any nearby, usually older, kinsmen who would attempt by causerie to settle them in a friendly and expedient manner. When disputes involve more lineages, more wealth or power at stake, or more wider interest, they are

settled with greater formality, more pomp and etiquette, larger quantities of money covertly and overtly changing hands, and more expensive alcohol being poured to dulcify the ancestors. The formality of the cases heard is roughly correlated to the rank of the elder or chief chairing the cases, and those not settled by lower-ranking courts move upwards in the hierarchy until solved.

The formal political structure of the respective lineages are equally arranged on the hierarchy, with a greater number of distinct offices in the larger, more wealthy, and more powerful lineages. Less wealthy, lower-ranking lineages often choose one person who combines the office of Abusua-Panyin (lineage elder) with a function in the chief's court, though the Abusua-Panyin relies informally on older male and female members for support and advice. More important lineages separate the functions. As Kurankyi-Taylor pointed out, in Asante, "the divisional chief is not the head of his family," (1951:14). The Obo chief is head of the Kwawu nifa division, but not head of his abusua. His Abusua-Panyin is a man usually resident in Brong Ahafo where he oversees his extensive cocoa farms. The office of Abusua-Panyin (lineage elder) of the chief's lineage (also called Adehyehene = chief of royals) is senior to the chief of Obo for matters concerning the chief's lineage. The Obo Kuruntehene, in contrast, who is second to the Obo chief in court, and acts as locum tenens during any interregnum, usually acts as his own lineage head. The beldam of Obo, a member of a collateral branch of the Obo chief's lineage, has her own court and blackened stools; and the succession of a new Ohemma is an important political process. In contrast, the Kuruntehene's lineage has no formally installed gammer but the Kuruntehene still seeks advice from his mother and other women in his abusua. Lineages further down the spectrum from those with power and wealth are less formally organized; though different members perform

functions as each occasion arises.

Numerous conflicts are settled by the chieftaincy system. Although the lineage is not defined by its land (Fortes idem.), as a corporate entity, it can acquire land. Relations between lineages and segments of any lineage become strained in the allocation of use of such property and this is a major concern of the elders. Other disputes include marriage, divorce, adultery, paternity and custody of children, inheritance and succession to office, personal conflicts and disagreements, and suits for damages, debts, and bodily harm. Criminal cases involving murder, theft, and similar delicts, however, are sent directly on to Mpraeso or Nkawkaw, and may reach regional headquarters at Koforidua or the capital, Accra. Although they do not officially employ the elders and chiefs, the national jural processes are often expedited by the resources of the Obo chief: e.g., his telephone or car.

The cases heard in the chieftaincy system progress up the spectrum of formality from level to level according to the ability of lower levels to solve them to disputants' satisfaction: (a) immediate residence group, (b) lineage, (c) division within town, (d) town court, (e) division within oman, (f) oman, (g) regional house of chiefs, and (h) the national court structure. Because each successively higher court is more expensive, larger groups of people are involved or represented. The more important cases, such as the current dispute over the Obomen stool, find their way out of Kwawu to the Eastern Region House of Chiefs, and are not without input from the soldiers who rule Ghana. Fortunes amounting to six-figured numbers may be spent in the settlement of such disputes, in contrast to the distribution of a box of matches to pay for a small dispute settled in an elder's courtyard.

There is some question about the recruitment of new members to fill vacated offices in the chief's court. Important elders are clearly

members as part of their responsibilities to their respective lineages. If any one of them dies or is destooled by the court or by his lineage, then his respective lineage elders gather to choose amongst their members someone qualified to fill the post. Educated and independently wealthy men are usually sought, for they are an asset to lineage fortunes. Unless the office has considerable prestige and the stool possesses considerable remunerative property, people with such qualifications try to avoid being selected. The lineage elders choose a candidate who is then usually approved by the chief's court. These offices clearly show the chief's court as representing a hierarchical confederation of dispersed matrilineages.

Succession to other offices in the chief's court are less clearcut. Kurankyi-Taylor (1951:149) wrote that gyaase and war offices in Akan society are patrilineal. To understand this with respect to the Obo court it was necessary to distinguish between the functions and recruitment of various offices. This was done by asking Obo elders about their court constitution and replacement mechanisms. They explained that the Gyaasehene was like the secretary of state or minister of domestic affairs. He directed activities such as the banmu (mausoleum caretakers) akyeame (linguists), ahenkwa (chief's servants), etc. In Obo the abusua of the Gyaasehene is Oyoko, related to Asante Dwaben royals, and it is always responsible for providing the Obo stool with a Gyaasehene, from among its membership. It has its own blackened stools. Succession to office is clearly matrilineal. Servants who do any of the gyaase labour, carrying umbrellas, palanquins, or drums, etc. are usually chosen from among the children of the Obohene or Gyaasehene or any other court elder (therefore patrilineal), but they may also be nephews (thus matrilineal) or grandchildren of these elders. There are no Asafo war companies currently functioning in Obo as sodalites or associations as they do among

the coastal Akan. Perhaps they are what Kurankyi-Taylor (op. cit.) had in mind about patrilineal war offices. The consensus among Obo elders was that during times of war Asafo companies were formed not strictly on the basis of matrilineal or patrilineal descent, but arranged ad hoc on the basis of loyalty and capability. Leadership of those now defunct ancient Asafo companies became formalized into the matrilineal court structure by the practice of chiefs and elders asking the abusua of any deceased Safohene to provide a replacement.

An important gyaase function is performed by the person who "greets" or "tells" on behalf of the chief. Poorly translated as "linguist" or "spokesman," the Okyeame (kyea = greet, kyere = tell) is thought of as the "mouth" of the chief who is proscribed from debasing himself by talking directly to people in public. A British administrator with a reputation of understanding traditional politics in the region wrote, "The linguist's office is not hereditary, and persons are selected to fill their post by virtue of merit alone. The stool, however, appears to be conferred on a retired linguist," (Crowther 1906:173).

The prevailing statement in Obo is that any Okyeame is chosen by each successive chief according to his whims or assessment of eloquence. In practice, a chief seldom makes radical changes in the composition of his predecessor's court. On the death of a linguist the chief searches for a replacement, but usually within the abusua of the deceased Okyeame. The Okyeamehene (chief linguist) office in Obo is inherited matrilineally and replacements are chosen by a Bretuo lineage, with its own blackened stools, that has links to royals in Asante-Akyem. The Obo Okyeamehene is also a Safohene in the Obo court. The Obo chief has six other linguists, three each for the left and right divisions of his court, though they all sit right of the Gyaasehene on the chief's right when court is in session.

I began to suspect a matrilineal element in okyeame succession (greater than the ideology of meritocrous recruitment) in the course of participant observation. After I had attended about six secret (5:30 a.m.) Adae rites of the Obo chief's court (described in the next chapter), one of the elders gave me a clue. Armed with his favourite brand of brandy, I requested the Obo Okyeamehene to let me witness his lineage rites. We met with two akyeame at 4:30 on an Adae morning preceding the rites of the Obo chief's stool. In succession we went to the stool rooms of each linguist to pour libations. I was surprised at first to see, what now seems logical, that the linguists also poured libations on blackened apowa (linguists' staves) naming their deceased matrilineal elders. The recruitment to office of linguist obviously has a greater element of matrilineal practice than indicated by the overt ideology of merit.

Another domestic or gyaase function is that of ahenkwa or chief's servant. Less honour and more labour are attached to the status, and little or no authority or voice in decision-making, so it is less sought than any elder's position. The "Gyanymede" described in the introduction to this thesis could easily have been an ahenkwa. Any available "young" man may be asked, ad hoc, to act as messenger or steward. Because migration disperses young adults, it is not easy to find an ahenkwa unless festivities or rites bring them home. Twins, who are thought to be sacred, are designated ahenkwa, if they are male. Strangers may also be appointed. Until I was given the Obo horn to blow I acted as ahenkwa in the Obo court as a form of participant observation. With me among the ahenkwa were (a) a pair of elderly twins with white stubble, only one of whom was usually present at any one time, (b) a Fante carpenter working in Obo, who later came into conflict with the chief and ran away after being accused of theft, (c) a retired farmer who requested in vain that

the office of ahenkwahene (chief steward) be created for him, and (d) a twelve to fourteen-year-old school boy who was both the son of the Gyaasehene and member of the Obohene's lineage.

Other members of the chief's retinue were recruited according to the occasion: important court cases, festivals, funerals, or public functions in other towns. They were recruited among the network of available young men who were related to the chief or his elders, often as they returned to the hometown for the respective occasion.

Only a few of the court elders stay permanently in Obo. The oldest who find travelling too difficult, as did the late Gyaasehene and a few aged Safohene, usually remain in town. The Obohene is supposed to sleep with the stools in the palace, but occasionally subrogates a kinsman, and travels for a day or two to inspect his business interests in Kumasi or Accra. Younger elders (enstooled during my research period) like the new Gyaasehene and the new Gyaasewahene, who also was a police sergeant, frequently travel to oversee their cocoa farms and other revenue-producing property. Most Obo elders are cocoa farmers resident in the satellite villages. Many live outside Kwawu, frequently in Brong Ahafo region, while some have business interests in the commercial southern towns and Accra. The Obo Kuruntehene routinely travels a triangular circuit between Obo, his hardware kiosk in Accra, and his village near Pra River. The late Gyaasewahene, as a member of the Obo development committee, was more frequently in Obo but also routinely travelled a circuit that touched Obo, lineage lands in Kukurantumi (where he was a member of that chief's lineage), Akyem Abuakwa, farms at his village on the north side of Kwawu Kodiabe, and his personal cocoa farms. His successor is rapidly fitting into a comparable circuit. Elders young enough to be economically active combine migrant enterprises with their hometown office.

Cyclic migration, to found villages, results in village political organization similar to that in the donor community. The Odikro is not necessarily of the same abusua as the chief, but as the founder of the village, or his successor, he owes allegiance to the chief.

Migration to Accra has also resulted in a large community of Obo migrants there. An interesting development is the formation of a political system which in itself, and in its relation to the hometown, is very similar to that of the villages. The chief's representative in Accra is often referred to as the Obo chief's Accra Odikro. In the same way as the Odikro in the village, he owes allegiance to the Obo chief, acts on behalf of the Obo chief concerning village, or in this case Accra, affairs, and is considered to be the head of Obo people in Accra. He holds the rank of Safohene in the Obo court. The only difference is that he is not on Obo land, and land ownership is not associated with the office as such. In the same way that the migration of young men to villages has been replaced by migration to Accra, the leadership of host community migrants is functionally adapted to urbanization.

Cyclic migration is further related to the political dimension of the social organization of Obo. An important feature of cyclic migration is the link between migrants and the donor community. When a stool position becomes vacant, and the elders of a lineage are faced with choosing a replacement, they are more favourably disposed towards those candidates who have been most visible even during their absence. Even if a candidate is stationed elsewhere, if he comes back to Obo for funerals, and when he is required for handling of some lineage affairs, for other visits, and to pay respects to the elders of the lineage, then he has been fulfilling his obligations. Such a candidate is more likely to be given a stool position. This is more than an honour and an obligation. Usually a stool position is accompanied with certain revenue-yielding lands, as well as assets such

as a store or house of the deceased who left the stool vacant. To inherit a stool position thus also often means monetary remuneration, and thus is a good return on the investment of fulfilling donor community obligations.

The inheritance includes both debts and assets: wives and children, land and office, and funeral expenses for the deceased. The migrant who inherits all this has a number of choices affecting his migrancy status. He may give up his job if the stool is important enough to require a large portion of his time. He may continue to keep some of his migrant activities but curb others so as to be available for more frequent visits home, often at short notice, or he may choose to locate himself more permanently in Obo, holding on to assets such as farms or stores in the host communities, leaving a kinsman and/or paid assistant to maintain them in his absence on his behalf.

The increases in responsibility, in status, and in income, on succession to office, draw migrants back home more frequently, tighten hometown ties, and increase hometown participation. As the life cycle model shows, age is associated with increased power and prestige as well as with the return home.

Political participation in host locations is the complement of that in the hometown. Migrants in their middle years of life predominate in areas away from home so they must deal with the host location political structure or take their disputes home, or both. Most satellite villages are small, so disputes often can be settled informally by village headmen or elders who are thought of as extensions of the Obo court. An Odikro of a village, as its head, is the Obo chief's local representative, usually the matrilineal scion of the village founder or of the owner on whose land the village had been built. Difficult cases, especially conflicts between villages, are brought to Obo to be settled.

Away from Kwawu, where any number of Obo migrants reside, disputes are taken to nearby Obo elders, unless the disputes also involve autochthones or other non-Obo people. I have seen the Obo Kuruntehene settle a dispute between an Hausa trader and a Ga salesman who came into conflict outside his kiosk at the Accra timber market. The Twi proverb, "Ohoho nto (or nti) mara," (the stranger doesn't hear the law) often cited by elders to beg leniency in dealing with migrants, is applied both to Obo migrants settled outside Kwawu and to strangers resident in Obo.

Because of their large numbers, Obo migrants resident in Accra and in the busier of the southern commercial towns, constitute a complex community. The formal head (Odikro) of the Accra community of Obo migrants was already mentioned. Clearly the traditional hometown-satellite structure has adapted to modern urban migration. As young men formerly predominated in traditional satellites, now they are found in the cities, where youngmen associations are more noticeable than elder's courts. Strangers in Obo mirror the Obo migrants elsewhere, grouping together by occupation and place of origin for relaxation, reinforcement, mutual support, and of course conflict settlement by their own institutions. When they come into conflict with Obo people they must go to the Obo court, as Obo migrants go to their host location courts. The political institutions that involve migrants to Obo, and Obo migrants to the satellites and towns, clearly show the interpenetrating nature of the community.

Keeping the extended Obo community together, so it will not disintegrate because of migration, is an important functional requirement that demands mechanisms by which its dispersed decision-making leadership can participate in the political process. As indicated, the life cycle element of migration and the gerontocratic element of power allocation

result in older people finding themselves, more probably than younger people, high in the hierarchy. Young people inheriting offices become socially, if not chronologically, senior citizens. Hometown ties, which are usually weak in young adult life, begin to increase as migrants divert their earnings into obtaining positions of power and prestige for themselves or for their kin. Frequency of hometown visits, mostly to funerals, increases with age. Age also increases the probability of election to office, which requires frequent hometown visits for rites and court cases.

It was noted that the dispersed abusua functions most as a corporate group, with its largest proportion of membership participation, after the death of one of its elders. The relations between abusua must not be overlooked. Funerals of important Obo elders draw large numbers of Obo people home, most of whom do not belong to the abusua of the deceased. Many of them have specific responsibilities in the funerals, according to their relations to the deceased, and the relations between their own abusua and that of the deceased. Interpersonal conflict tends to be channellized into inter-abusua conflict, and its settlement formalized by the relations between mbusua in the chief's court. The more important the status of the deceased, the greater the number of dispersed community members return, and the greater the survivors. In contrast, during quiet times when the town is empty, the dispersed lineages are represented by their elders returning at regular times to formally carry on the interaction between lineages.

The life cycle comes full turn: children who look outside the town as they are socialized into a matrilineal society, seek their fortunes and their mates in the villages and cities, visiting with increasing frequency until they permanently return to their matrilineal home in the declining years of their life. Death brings them fully home and, if

accorded the proper funeral, continued increase in political power and prestige as ancestors.

This brief description of structure and (historical) development of Obo socio-political institutions demonstrates the utility of the life cycle approach, and thus the age pyramid developed in the previous chapter. The gerontocratic (age) element, although important in the Guan era, was elaborated by the matrilineal Akan who migrated later to Kwawu. Continuity of the total community depends upon life cycles and cyclical migration which could easily be misinterpreted as social change. The conjugalization of a matrilineal society due to urban migration, for example, may be more apparent than real. The total extended community has, however, undergone a long, slow, adaptive change. The present social and political organization of the dispersed Obo community must be seen as the product of a history of cumulative additions, introduced by the very cyclical migration which maintains its adaptive continuity.

We now turn to the ideological dimension and the supernatural sanction of that social and political structure. Ancestor beliefs complement the importance of age and the power of elders, but must be seen within an architecture of beliefs which justify behaviour. These beliefs are then demonstrated in the regular events which bring decision-makers together in the hometown, and rites of passage wherein the extended community recognizes the life stages of its migrating population.

CHAPTER SIX

RELIGION AND THE RETURN OF CYCLICAL MIGRANTS

To cope with an only partially predictable environment, the Akan have constructed a pantheon of supernatural explanatory forces or beings, a medley of regulative and corrective ceremonies, and a calendar of different times to which required activities are allocated. The operation, survival, and continuity of a community, dispersed over a wide area and interpenetrating other dispersed communities, require ideologies to reinforce solidarity and mechanisms to draw actors together and perform community-sustaining rituals. An analysis of time and the temporal allocation of rituals is the prime objective here, but it must be seen within the context of religious beliefs that justify ritual activity. The importance of the life course to social organization requires public recognition of status changes (rites de passage) which take place in a temporal and spatial structure characterized by sacred-profane, auspicious-inauspicious, and prescribed-proscribed distinctions. Belief and ritual constitute the ideological dimension of a culture in which urban migrants can maintain their rural identity.

We begin then with the pantheon of unseen forces or beings which populate the Obo universe.

Belief: (a) Traditional Pantheon

The universe of life and death, through which people are believed to migrate, is populated by numerous beings. In one sense the universe, and all its spirits, is a unity, and can be called God. In another sense the universe is full of various seen and unseen beings, living persons being only a part of the pantheon. What we (the observers of Obo) call the supernatural can be grouped into five categories. In approximately descending rank order of political power they include: (a) the universals, God and Nature, (b) ghosts of the formerly living, including ancestors who care for their descendants, (c) local deities that inhabit natural objects, (d) witches, sorcerers, and the witch-hunters who pursue them, and (e) sub-human beings that range from forest sprites through spirits of certain animals, down to charms, amulets, and medicinal concoctions.[1]

Supernatural beings are not "worshipped" in the sense of being revered and obeyed because they are omnipotent, omniscient, and totally without fault. They may be respected, feared, assuaged, prayed to, and mollified by people according to their changing rank, power, popularity, and skills; which vary immensely among them and according to the occasion. As described later, a sizeable proportion of Obo people are affiliated with Christian sects, but that does not mean that for them the pantehon does not exist; the Christians still believe in the other beings but follow God's injunction to "Put no other God before Me." A detailed theology is not possible here, but a brief description of the

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1. These classifications, although constructed by the author rather than by informants, are supported by Twi vocabulary which makes those distinctions. Category (a) consists of Nyame and Asaase Yaa, (b) consists of samanfo, (c) consists of abosom, (d) consists of bayi, and (e) includes mmoetia, sasamoa, and suman. These categories are not interchangeable in terms of vocabulary, nor is there a single word such as the English "supernatural" which encompasses them all.

supernatural universe necessarily precedes an analysis of events and rituals which bring migrants back to Obo; knitting together the dispersed community.

The universal spirits are male and female, God and Nature. Until Christians and Muslims came there were no cults directing worship to either of them - it would have been too presumptious. People do not talk directly to a chief; out of respect they communicate through intermediaries. In Obo belief, God is chief of the universe, and people did not worship him directly, but honoured him by seeking his aid indirectly. Yet God was not forgotten or overlooked. God and Nature (in either order) were always invoked first in all libations and prayers. They still are.

God is conceived of as a male. His day is Saturday; either he was born then or came to earth on that day, so he is named Kwame. When a chief dies the people are euphemistically informed by saying a tree has fallen. But God is a tree that never falls; people could lean on him and he would always provide support, thus at the beginning of a prayer he is called Nyankopon Tweduampon Kwame. In daily conversation (e.g., "We thank God I/you am/are well," "If God permits, I will travel to Accra tomorrow,") he is called Nyame. The translation and explanation of Nyankopon and Nyame are fraught with debate by Akan scholars very qualified to interpret (Dickson 1968). For our purposes, Nyame, the shining one, is God in Heaven, equivalent to Jehovah, or Our Father in Judeo-Christian theology. Informants are very vague about his location. He is often assumed to be located in the sky from where he sends his most valuable gift, the rains. As the supreme ancestor, he is also thought of as ruling Asamando, land of dead. He is the father or the great uncle of the universe.

Nature, in contrast, is conceived of as female. Her day is Thursday (Friday in some Fante areas, according to Obo elders) and she is called earth. Thus her name is Asaase Yaa. In prayers and libations she is invoked at the beginning, before or after Nyankopon Tweduampon Kwawe. She is the mother of the universe, the provider. When libations are poured to gods and ancestors, they are poured on her. She gets her own libation when her skin is cut to receive, back in her womb, the body of a deceased person. She is the land.

Although there were no cults of God and Nature,[2] they were remembered other than in daily expressions and prayers. Each house had an Onyame dua (God stick) set up in the ground with three forks branching from the top. On the three prongs rested a pot, about a metre above the ground; and in it were eggs, testicles, blood, wine, pieces of chicken and sheep, cowrie shells, and other sacrifices, usually put there on the instruction of a god or ancestor. They are not found in all Obo houses, but in most of the older ones, and in all of those where gods or ancestors (stools) reside. Some of the large cement two-storey houses have an Onyame dua permanently cemented in, shaped in a square concrete column with the stick inside the column. God and Nature were universal, and traditionally acknowledged, but usually through other spirits which varied from place to place and time to time.

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2. Although earth cults are found in societies on all sides of the Akan, they are not found among the Akan. The same can be said of many traits such as secret societies and certain types of divination. This remains a puzzle to social scientists: why should the Akan lack these things? Perhaps the answer lies in the all-pervading power of matriliny as a social and political institution. Earth is female, a mother, unlike in the neighbouring patrilineal societies.

The second category of supernatural includes the dead, or the ghosts of the formerly living:

> The Ashanti believe that there is a world of spirits (asaman), where all their ancestors have a life very similar to live on earth, and this conception is implicit in Ashanti funeral rites. The dead are given food and drink and gold-dust to help them on their journey to the world of spirits. Receptacles, bedding, ornaments, and clothing which it is believed they will require in the world of spirits are buried with them, and the newly dead are asked to convey messages to the ancestors.
>
> (Busia 1954:201)

The dead are not all the same, nor do they have equal power or prestige. The bigger and more elaborate was their funeral, the more likely they are to be important in the spirit world. Thus all people looking to their future desire to have an elaborate funeral. Ghosts of suicides and accidents are not respected, and those of commoners are soon forgotten. The ghosts of powerful chiefs and kings are revered and remembered as ancestors long after their death.

There is some question as to the relative rank of the ghost (second) category, and the god (third) category. The first category, God and Nature, is definitely at the top of the spiritual hierarchy; but what comes next? One answer lies in that there are numerous ranks of both gods and ghosts, so the two categories overlap. It is also stated as a proverb, and beaten on the drums, that the stream crosses the path and the path crosses the stream; which came first? We could interpret the proverb as an explanation. The rivers came before man and the animals who made the paths; man is transitory, while the rivers are immortal. The gods are the rivers. But prior arrival in a place does not have to imply political seniority; the earliest lineages to arrive in Obo are not the royal lineages now.

The answer may lie in the nature of how gods and ancestors each communicate to men: by possession. The gods possess the priests

temporarily. During possession a priest or medium is agitated and obviously under the power of some god. The ancestors possess the chiefs and elders who are the living shrines of their own deceased elders. They are sedate, calm, and decisive as the ancestors continuously inhabit them. At festivals the gods pay obeisance to the ancestors; that is, the mediums of the gods (priests) bow down to the medium of the ancestors (chief). The chief owns the land on which the rivers flow, and the priests say their gods belong to the chief. Gods may be more powerful and dangerous than humans, but then soldiers may be more dangerous than their general who leads them. The gods are not lower in status than all ghosts, or even all ancestors, but they owe allegiance to the chief as the shrine of the most powerful ancestors.

Perhaps this is a structural and ritual expression of a historical change. My own interpretation is this. The gods are associated with patriliny and were there when the patrilineal Guan lived on the land. The ancestors are the matrilineal ancestors and, as noted earlier, the matrilineal society was more politically and militarily efficient and came to conquer land once populated by the Guan. The chiefs, aided by the war medicine of their matrilineal ancestors (black stools) thus came to dominate the patrilineal gods, who survived by paying allegiance to the new rule. What is important is that not all ancestors are of higher rank than the gods, but the gods are of lower rank than the chief.

The world of the dead, then, is peopled by beings with varying powers. Some of these are lost and helpless, others are powerful and to be feared. They can cause death, a person being summoned to Asamando, land of the dead, to account for his behaviour or to act as a witness in the council of elders at that land. The saman are usually thought to be the matrilineal spirits; that which is given to each individual as his nton (matriclan name), abusua (membership in a matrilineal corporate

group), and his mogya (blood, body). Other post or pre-life spirits include the sunsum or personality spirit, passed like the ntoro through the male line. They also include the kra or spirit of destiny breathed into each living individual on the day of his birth. Ghosts are of many kinds, so ancestor "worship" is not to be thought of as worship of all the dead, so much as a continuation of respect and obedience of elders, even after they migrate to Asamando.

Jewish folklore tells of a being called a dybbuk (Hebrew, dibbuk) which is a wandering soul believed to enter and possess a person. I described it to a priestess of a local deity one evening, and asked her if there were the same in Kwawu:

> Yes, we call them homhom. They can come back to wiase (under the sun = world) normally to say who has killed them. Happens all the time ... interesting story...., I was a little girl ... Yaw Donkor the wofa (maternal uncle) of the wife of Okomen, the bar owner, died early one morning. A few hours later Yaw Donkor's wife, Yaa Kuma, also died. We all thought he had killed her, or called her to a palaver in the land of the dead. When we buried them, the homhom of Yaa Kuma possessed a young woman and spoke to us. She said Yaw Donkor did not kill her. When he died she was unhappy so she followed him. When she got to Asamando she discovered that the elders there had called Yaw Donkor to become enstooled as a chief there. They didn't want her there and so they sent her away, back to wiase. When she got back she discovered her corpse, and being dead, could not become alive again. She stayed around as a homhom until she could possess someone to tell the people in wiase, then she could go again to Asamando to be with her husband, the new chief in that place.
>
> (Field notes, P.B., 1976)

When I questioned the priestess further, she explained that homhom was not like kra (destiny-soul) at all. Homhom, like the abosom spirit, was closer in form to sunsum, the personality spirit that is passed in the male line. Although they are able to return as homhom at any time, usually after they have said what they have to say, they then go again to stay in Asamando, not returning to wiase unless they are born again. When coffins are carried to the burial ground and force the pallbearers to point to seomone's house (the owner or occupant then being suspected

of murder, usually by medicine or witchcraft), the force behind the coffin is thought to be the same migrant spirit, the homhom. The second category, then, ghosts, includes a whole range of beings, but for the matrilineal Akan, those ghosts with the greatest political significance are those of the matrilineal ancestors; the deceased elders and chiefs whose shrines are the black stools described in the previous chapter.

The children of God, angels, are thought of as personalities animating natural objects such as mountains, caves, or (most usually) river systems. These constitute the third category of supernatural beings. The abosom (singular, obosom; perhaps derived from som = serve, support, obo = rock, cliff; the question generates considerable contradiction and discussion) or tutelar deities, each are personifications of not only the river, but also of the rain and the whole drainage system of a river. The idea of being a "child" of God implies that an obosom is a part of, a creation of, and a spiritual extension of God.

An obosom makes himself or herself intelligible to the people by possessing, at certain times, a medium called an okomfo (kom = possession, fo = person) who is operated like a puppet by the spirit, and claims later to have no recollection of events that have taken place during the possession. After a deity initially chooses a medium, perhaps after the person had lived alone "forty" days in the bush, or more likely during a festival of other deities, the medium seeks the approval and assistance of close kinsmen. The medium must undergo (usually three years) training under the tutelage of another medium possessed by a related (or the same) god, to learn how to make his or her person receptive (i.e., clean and pure) to the deity. Every obosom has a day name and a set of ntoro (patrilineal) prohibitions. The okomfo thus observes not only his own kra (birth) day every week, but also that of the god. Just as a pregnant wife observes the ntoro of her husband (so she can

care for the foetus who inherits its father's ntoro), so the medium observes both his own ntoro proscriptions and those of his god. The medium, whether male or female, speaks of being the wife of an obosom, whether it is male or female.

A room is set aside in the compound of the okomfo, and it is said to be the room of the obosom. In it, often covered by white cloths and curtains, are altars with animal skins, brass and clay bowls, wood and clay figures, and pieces of rock and wood. Offerings of food and drink are made there, so there are frequently eggs, bananas, schnapps, and other gifts kept in the room, as well as the costumes of the god, or gods, who possess the medium. White blessing powder, and various herbs and medicines are often kept there as well. Frequently there is a place set aside in the forest, by the river itself, which the god inhabits, or if far away, a cave, cliff side, or grove, where a few objects such as bowls are kept, and where libations are poured and gifts brought. These are the "sacred" areas of the god, and when entering the room or grove, all but chiefs and elders must remove their sandals out of respect for the spirit.

The obosom may come and possess the okomfo at any time according to its whim. It usually comes on certain days (described below) which are set aside for agoro (literally "play") when the people drum and sing and the gods come (possess the akomfo) to dance and play. A god may possess a medium when a prayer is said. This may be done when a supplicant has come to the god seeking assistance.

A single obosom can possess two or more persons simultaneously. If an okomfo of a god is visiting another okomfo of the same god, and attends an agoro, this often happens, the two mediums taking on the single personality and costume of one god, and going about like twins, like a merged personality. Conversely, a single medium is usually

receptive to more than one spirit, but usually a finite number, limited to the friends, affines, and close kin (mostly children) of the main god (i.e., the river, often personified as an old man or woman). The "children" of a river range from abosom in their own rights, sometimes with separate ntoro prohibitions (which are passed down patrilineally so if the river is a woman they must be different), down the spectrum of spiritual beings to non-personalized powers or spirits with neither day names nor developed personalities. The god may be "fortified" by powers, often bought from elsewhere, which may help protect the god and people from evil such as witchcraft. Among the spirits possessing the okomfo, then, are the additional fortifications, often with northerner, Nigerian, or Muslim names. The constellation of deities possessing a single okomfo is thus varied, each supernatural being having a different rank, status, and function from most of the others.

When a god possesses a medium the person usually begins with what looks like an epileptoid fit; the other people do not immediately recognize which god among the constellation has come. Then the medium looks dazed until an awakening or realization takes place, as if the god wakes up and becomes familiar with its surroundings, in the body of the medium. A frenzy follows; dissatisfaction with the clothing of the medium which is inappropriate for the god. Attendants are necessary, and this is why a medium needs kinship support; it is impossible to practice alone. They take the possessed medium to a secluded or private place (the god's room if possession takes place in the medium's compound), discover which god has possessed the medium, and assist in dressing the medium in the appropriate costume. The god then returns for consultation with supplicants, or for agoro in the festivities.

When the god wishes to leave the medium, he first signals a desire to sleep, then collapses into the arms of a selected attendant. Shortly

the medium wakes up, puts his or her own clothing back on, and is usually informed by an attendant what had occurred while the god was in possession of the medium's body. Whereas the god, while occupying the person of the priest or priestess has full access to the person's thoughts and memories, that person has no access to the god's, and cannot remember events occurring during possession. Thus the spirits can communicate with people.

No complete census of deities in Kwawu has been recorded, but the number is large. It would be impossible to describe all their various characteristics, so two of them, outside Obo, will be mentioned. When the Basle missionaries arrived in Kwawu they met two major gods, Burukung and Atia Yaw. The two have had different histories and purposes. The first was in Kwawu when the Akan arrived, the second was brought by Akan from outside Kwawu. The second now is of minor importance in Kwawu, whereas Burukung is the leader of the abosom. Although it is an inselberg (rock) rather than a river, it ranks above all the abosom in Kwawu (which are mostly rivers) including those of Obo.

Burukung can be thought of as the state god or chief god of Kwawu (not to be confused with Obonyame, the stool god of Bretuo-Tena lineage of the paramount chief, brought from Adanse with the first migrants) and ranks above all others. The chief priest is a member of a royal Asona lineage in Kwawu Tafo. The shrine of Burukung, unlike that of most Kwawu gods, is in its own compound from where the Burukung inselberg can be seen a few miles to the northeast. The okomfo contradicts numerous notions about the god. He denies the rumour that Burukung is the son of the god Dente at Kete Kratchie. He contradicts the assertions made by Meyerowitz (1961) viz. that it was brought from Koraa on the Niger River bend via Dia and Bono, that it means Bia kuru (town builder), or that it is bisexual; and the assertions made by Basle missionary Gottlob Dilger

(1885) viz. that the rock was a white ant that ate afase (water yam) then died and broke up, or that girls did a wild dance around it every year. The wife of Burukung is Oboo Agya. When the okomfo is possessed at public festivals he stands on the shoulders of a young man with the title of rock carrier (obosuafo). The obosuafo is equivalent to a stool carrier of a chief, and also carries an actual rock, a piece of the inselberg normally kept in the Tafo shrine. While Atia Yaw has dwindled to a minor cult and a memory, Burukung remains the most important Kwawu deity, recognized and respected by the followers of hundreds of lesser abosom in and around Kwawu.

The gods in Obo are too numerous for all to be described here; a few will be noted to indicate the position of the obosom in the pantheon. The important Obo gods include Tano, Pra, Asuboni, and Fofie, the first being rivers, the last a hawk. Another god, Akonedi, is the god of Larteh, a branch of the cult brought to Obo by an Obo lineage.

The Tano god is the spirit of the river which rises near Sunyani in Brong Ahafo. It flows south past Goaso from where the stools of the Obo royal Amoakade lineage originate - the first migrants having brought Tano with the stools. The Tano okomfo in Obo was a member of the Obo chief's lineage. The god's room is in her compound in the Asamenya neighbourhood. The late Tano okomfo of the Asamanya compound died over twenty years ago; she was the mother of numerous wealthy Obo traders, many of whom are now in Accra. Another Tano okomfo lives in Ohantrase near the palace. She serves her own Tano shrine and that of the deceased Tano okomfo.

During the annual yam-eating rites, the Tano okomfo, accompanied by her attendants and other Obo akomfo, walks in a procession from the Tano compound in Ohantrase to the one in Asamenya. When she passes the Ohantra tree and begins walking across Ohantrase square, she is possessed

by Tano. She (possessed by the god) then goes quickly to the Asamanya compound to begin the annual rites. All the children of Tano (any Obo people), the Obo chief and elders, and other akomfo are given tiny bits of the first yam, to satisfy their hunger for the year. Sheep are sacrificed back in the Ohantrase Tano compound and used to make a soup which is also distributed. Only after the yam rites each year are Obo people permitted to eat new yams; prior to that they hide any yams they may choose to bring home, and eat them secretly.

Although the Tano River does not drain Obo land, the Tano god is the stool god of Obo, and the priestess is considered the most senior Obo okomfo. A former Tano okomfo, Yaw Baa, founded the Obo satellite village of Ataaso in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Two of the important Obo gods are the spirits of local rivers: Pra and Asuboni. The Pra River was described by Dupuis[3] in 1824 and is important in the religion of neighbouring Asante (Rattray 1929). The Asantehene is forbidden to cross the Pra. The Pra obosom has numerous prohibitions or taboos[4], especially symbols of death (such as mourning cloths). The compound housing the room of Pra god in Obo is in an older

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3. Dupuis obtained his information in Kumasi and as a result his geography is a little distorted, although the sacred quality of the river is noted:

> The second river of magnitude is the Pra, which is crossed between Anoka and Argoside on the fifth day. This river being a tutelar god, is dignified with the name of Bussem, which may be interpreted as sacred, awful, majestic, holy; it rises in a mountain between Akyem and Quahou, near a little croom called Sumtaso, and sacrifices are made at its spring head, which is said to be a large gaping rock about half-way up the side of the mountain. Here the full vigour of the god is supposed to exist, yet the water does not always gush out with the same force. The river Birrim is the third in rank on the Accra route. It rises near Sonora in Quahou, and falls into the Pra at a short distance from Dansansoo.
>
> (Dupuis 1924)

4. Pra proscribes afasie (purple colour or purple yam), owansan (red and white antelope), Kwakuo (a type of monkey), Akam (wild yam), efene

section of town, Pampaso, near numerous compounds of lesser gods. The Pra okomfo is a woman who lives in the compound with her twelve-year-old son (who is the okomfo of a tributary river). Whereas the Pra River starts near Obo but on Twinedurase land, flows south off the escarpment, and passes numerous satellite villages, the Asuboni River begins on Obo land and flows in the opposite direction, across the escarpment between other central nucleus towns before emptying into the Afram River. Asuboni is a female god, a wife of Afram. All of the rivulets which drain the town of Obo flow south and empty into Asuboni River, thus the Korang god, spirit of the Korang rivulet, is a subsidiary god. The Asuboni god's houses are south of the main road in Asamanya, the major one being a small compound entered into only through the house of the okomfo (an Aduana) on a steep slope. Tano is the senior god by virtue of being the stool god, but Asuboni is the senior god by virtue of prior residence.

Two other important gods in Obo do not have associations with rivers: they are Fofie and Akonedi. Fofie is said to have come from the Volta region (Nkami) and Akonedi from Akuapem. The former is a spirit which takes the form of animals. Fofie is also the name of one of the sacred days in the Akan calendar (described below) and takes many forms. In Obo it is Fofie Akroma (the hawk). Fofie gods in Obo are the property of numerous Aduana lineages and annual pilgrimages are made to Pitiko, the oldest Aduana settlement in Kwawu, to celebrate Fofie festivals. The main Fofie god possesses a member of an Aduana lineage, whose compounds

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(gourd), akyi (smoked fish), abrodweba (potatoes), apampa (large round plate to carry things on the head), odwan mmene (black sheep), whistling, kuntunkuni (red mourning cloth), edinkra (cloth stamped with traditional symbols, dead ancestors' names, clay pipes, preko (pig), nwansin (sneezing), twuma (red clay), urine, excrement, menstruating women, pounding fufu, cold yams. On Sundays the god further proscribes fufu (aglutinated yam), mako (chili pepper), nkyene (salt), brodie (plaintain), and the yellow-backed duiker.

have an extra courtyard for Kwabena-Abena. The latter god is the only known bisexual god in Obo; its shrine is a nest shaped like a sphere about a half meter in diameter with a hole on one side. Kwabena-Abena possesses three (rather short, wiry) men simultaneously, who then grasp three ropes attached to the shrine and together whirl around in circles. When Kwabena-Abena meets anyone, that person is obliged to put some small gift into the nest to avoid disaster. The three men who are possessed by Kwabena-Abena are farmers; Obo migrants usually living near Ahyieso Odumasi.

The association of Fofie with the hawk (and in Abetifi with the ape) gives rise to the question of a whole order of spiritual beings, the Sasamoa (sasa = spiritually dangerous, mmoa = plural of aboa, animal). The Sasamoa are animals with dangerous spirits that once were important in now extinct hunters' cults. They include Trom (bongo), Kwaduo (yellow-backed duiker), oko (roan), asono (elephant), and adowa (small antelope). As is apparent, spiritual danger is not the same as physical danger, for they do not include the leopard or eko (bush cow, buffalo). The rites associated with killing these are almost forgotten as hunting dies away with increased population and farming. These Sasamoa do not possess people (as does Fofie), and are remembered only as animals to be avoided by particular ntoro taboos. They belong to the pantheon, but since the demise of hunter cults (Fraser 1928), no longer are important in the world view of Obo people.

The Akonnedi god in Obo is the same as the Larteh god (see Brokensha 1966:158 ff, 173 ff) and the okomfo went to Larteh for three years' training after first being possessed by the god. Brokensha describes Akonnedi as a spirit of a dead woman (saman) but the Obo Akonnedi priestess refers to Akonnedi as her obosom. Akonnedi in Obo does the same as what Brokensha (op. cit.) describes for the one at Larteh, but on a less

elaborate scale. Once, at the funeral (of the late Asuboni okomfo) the Akonedi priestess had visitors, fellow priestesses from other branches of the cult. During the funeral celebrations at Ohantrase, the same god, Adaade Kofi, possessed two of them. They walked about like twins and, as the personality of Adaade Kofi prescribed, jointly tried to seduce pretty women. One god, Mame Yaa, is the most junior of the constellation. During the period after the birth of the priestess' child, but before purification after weaning, Mame Yaa was the only god who would possess her. Like most Obo gods, Akonnedi is located in Pampaso, a house donated to the sect for its use by the late owner.

There are numerous minor gods, and a few could be mentioned. A member of a Bretuo lineage who lives in Pampaso is possessed by Koraman. A member of an Aduana lineage who lives in Asamenya is possessed by Gyemibi and Anwo Ntoma. A priestess in Pampaso is possessed by Gyinaye and Asuabena (the latter being a river draining land near some Obo villages). Another room in her compound is set aside for a god, Donkor. Another priestess in Pampaso is possessed by Abuasu, a pre-Akan god that wears a rafia skirt.

Some Obo people, living in satellite villages on the southern lowlands, are possessed by gods, some being the spirits of rivers draining those lowlands, some from elsewhere. One woman of an Amoakade lineage in Obo lives in Sukwa, and is possessed by Byinigyini, a god she brought from elsewhere. A man of an Obo Aduana lineage lives in Kwame Aboagyekrom, which is drained by the river Kwabena Afenasu, a god which possesses the man. Another man, an Oyoko from Obo, lives in Fomansu (drained by the river Foman Kese, a god whose sacred day is Tuesday) is possessed by Kwasi Baka, and an elder is possessed by Atia and Kramo brought from Denkyira by his grand-uncle of the same name. All are of a Sekyere lineage. A woman of an Amoakade lineage is possessed by Kwabena Ashiawo

from Bepong and his sons, Botwe Tano and Okro Kofi. She lives in Suidibi Number One, and her god's compound is built round in the ancient manner, but with a galvanized iron roof. In Awenade there are three houses which belong to abosom, one of which is a local river.

Many of the rivers draining lands of the Obo satellite villages are not presently served by a possessed okomfo, though the sacred days are still observed and no farming is done on those days. Villages around Essase drained by Apradan Abena observe Tuesdays as sacred; those around Nkwaetoa and Kwamoakokrom drained by Asukwadwo (which has an okomfo elsewhere) observe Mondays; those around Subrichi drained by Kwasi Subrichi observe Sundays; those around Brenadi observe Tuesdays in honour of the River Foman; those around Yaw Kuro observe Sundays in honour of Owere; those around Atuobikrom observe Tuesdays and Fridays in honour of Asuo Abena and Kofi Brako; those around Sukwa observe Tuesdays in honour of the river with the same name; and so on. Sometimes a god will not possess a person for more than two or three decades, so if these rivers have no akomfo, it is not necessarily an indication that the gods will soon be forgotten.

Some Obo migrants, too, are possessed by gods away from Obo and its satellites. One young woman of an Obo Amoakade lineage was attending middle school in form four where her parents had migrated to Abowam, a satellite of Nteso. There she was possessed by Nansin, the obosom of a river flowing through a cave to the Afram. She trained for three years under an old woman in a nearby village who was possessed by a tributary to Nansin. Possessed by the god, she collected the sacred paraphernalia from the compound of a Bretuo lineage (the royal lineage of Nteso is Bretuo), where the god had not possessed anyone for over twenty-five years. The Bretuo lineage sacrificed a sheep imploring the god to return, but it refused. The okomfo serves the Nteso chief because Abowam and the

Nansin River are on Nteso land, but she returns to Obo for funerals of kinsmen and important Obo elders. She also visits kinsmen in Obo satellite villages on the southern lowlands.

Another okomfo, a man of an Asona lineage, usually resident in the Pra River station area, comes to Obo for funerals or an occasional Akwasidae; he is possessed by a god, but unwilling to talk about it. A woman of a Bretuo lineage is possessed by Tongo, one of the Burukung constellation; she lives with her two daughters and sister's daughter at Brukuase (ase = under) a satellite of Kwawu Tafo, where they farm. They also occasionally come to Obo for Akwasidae or funerals.

Kwawu migrants possessed by abosom have been recorded as early as a century ago. Basle missionary Koranteng wrote of meeting a Kwawu okomfo in Kukurantumi (the town of origin of the Obo Gyaasewahene). The Akan believe that a person is more important if he has more offspring, thus Nyakopon, as the most superior being in the universe, must have numerous children, including abosom, mmoetia, Jesus, suman, etc. The okomfo recognized Koranteng as a brother because, "... both serve a son of God." Koranteng, however, saw Jesus as the only son of God, not one of a pantheon of God's children, so he, "... told her where her fetish came from," (Koranteng 1876:April 24, Jenkins 1970:59).

Knowing this story, I asked the Obo Tano okomfo about her opinions of Christianity, and her reply confirmed her ancient colleague's remarks. "All the abosom," she said, "are in competition, or there is competition between the lineages and individuals that have each obosom. Their fortunes rise and fall. There is much jealousy between the gods, so the misunderstandings between any of the Christians and any abosom, is natural. Yet all serve God in different ways, and as children of one father should show respect and consideration for one another. The Christians are welcome. They bring the schools which our children need

to succeed. They teach right things like honesty and hard work. But Jesus is only one of God's many children, and they all help or hinder us in various ways. We can still help the Christians bring forth children, and get rid of witchcraft, so they come to us for aid, then go back to their churches and say the abosom are evil. We wish to take them as our friends," (paraphrased from field notes, 1973, P.B.).

A fourth category of spiritual beings, distinct from abosom are forest sprites called mmoetia and usually translated as "dwarves." They are spiritual dwarves, however, and not the same as disfigured or dwarfed people called pirafo. The leader of those possessed by mmoetia in Obo explained that the mmoetia were spiritual monkey-like beings who feared human company, had their feet on backwards, detested cooked food, and came in one of three colours: red, white, or black. He also is a Sumankwafo or "medicine man" (ritual or power medicine, in contrast to herbal medicine) and he learned his "medicines" or powers from black dwarves. Some of the suman or powers that he invokes include Mpra, Boame, Nimo, and Kyafrafra. Some other suman he mentioned were Afrim (Abetifi, Pepease), Adare (Nkwatia), Odiatuo (Afram), and Anfwere. This is the sixth category of supernatural as noted above. The suman are non-personalized powers. They are a separate class of spirits from the abosom and the mmoetia. Most gods and stools, he claimed, used suman to fortify their powers. Suman are usually put in amulets and charms and are used to protect the wearer from evil, witches, bullets, and misfortune. Two spiritual beings (mmoetia) possess him: Nsuapem and Omintiminim. The mmoetia can cause mischief at night, stealing palm wine and food, but he sets bananas, palm kernels, and other fruits out at night for them to partake.

The witches constitute a fifth supernatural category, associated with evil and destruction. What is important about witchcraft is that

harm comes only to kinsmen of the witches. De Brunner argues that the great witch-hunting cults have been introduced during historic times because of the breakdown of traditional morals, sanctions, and social balance between the sexes (de Brunner 1967:7, 62), but bayi itself is an ancient concept. It is difficult to determine the role of witchcraft and the anti-witchcraft cults in Obo prior to the turn of the century, as oral traditions usually refer to a more noble past. The mediums of the older abosom claim to purge witchcraft (especially to cure barrenness; one of the results of witches' activities), and most constellations of gods include an abrafo (executioner or lawman) who kills evil. The introduction of more spirits perhaps came about as each older sect became more enmeshed in the net of obligations and rights of the community, thus being less capable of causing a disturbance by making witchcraft accusations.

The earliest documentary data is in the Ghana National Archives, Accra (Case No. 636/06, A.D.M. 11/598, no author) referring to colonial administrators' reports for 1906. On March 15 of that year there was a serious riot at Abetifi sparked by "Yi Abeyi" (purge witchcraft), "... carried out by a fetish man from Nkwatia ... summoned by consent of the inhabitants." In the riots, three men died from one gunshot and property was reported to be looted. This was near the end of the dry season when tensions and frustrations tend to be highest. The D.C. at that time, Crowther (1906), found that mmrante (youngmen) throughout Kwawu, including Obo, were involved in the disturbances. This was also during the decade of immense social change as Kwawu population rapidly decreased and the commercial cocoa towns of the south sprang up, attracting Kwawu migrant traders in large numbers. After a trial, forty-one convictions were made, including thirty-one sentenced to imprisonment, and two put on further trial for murder. Crowther commended the efforts of the Aduamoa

chief and Basle missionary, Otto Schimming, in averting a lot of bloodshed. A proclamation prohibiting "Yi Abeyi" was passed on 1 June 1906 (G.N.A. op. cit.). The early witch-purging cults often involved the confession, then the execution or suicide of a bayifo (person possessed by witchcraft). This of course was not acceptable to the British authorities. What was needed, then, was a cult that could kill the witchcraft spirit bayi but not the person possessed by it, bayifo. Thus the later cults.

The most important anti-witch cult in Kwawu developed during the turbulent era of the 1930s. As with the introduction of most successful cults, Tigare was brought from outside by Kwawu migrants. Its day of arrival in any host community became its kra name. Tigare in Obo is called Kwasi Tigare, but in other towns it has different day names. An Obo migrant presently farming in Abowam, for example, is possessed by Kofi Tigare. Although traders were looking more to the south, old contacts with the north were remembered. Tigare originated in Ypala (between Bole and Wa) and was first brought to Nkwantenan (four corners) on the Kwawu Afram plains, where it became Akannized, acquiring for example Akan day names. From there it spread, via Sadan, throughout Kwawu, and as its fame was proclaimed with migrant Kwawu, it spread to most of the south of the country. By 1943 the D.C. for Kwawu was able to write:

> The Tigare fetish thrives. Sub branches are in the process of formation at Mpraeso, Obo, Abetifi, Bepong, Asakraka, Kwahu Tafo, and Worobong. Nkwantenang is as popular a pilgrimage as ever. The Omanhene states that upwards of 2,000 people visit the festival out there every six weeks. It is reported that petty thieving and such like crime has fallen almost fifty per cent since the Tigare fetish took a firm hold on the district. I have given the Mpraeso Hene a pass to drum in honor of the fetish nightly from five to ten p.m. Sine die, and everyone is happy.
>
> (1087/93/1943 Quarterly Report, Birim (Kwahu) District, 30 Sept. 1943, A.D.M., 32/1/135, G.N.A.)

The report was apparently written at the peak of Tigare popularity, for by 1948 the Roman Catholic Mission fathers were able to record, "The Tigare cult seems to have spent its force; as a result many catechumens are entering the church. An average of 35 catechumens sign their names every month," (personal communication 1974, Rev. A. Elsbernd).

The Tigare cult shows no signs of disappearing from Obo yet. Most animists recorded in the 1973/4 Obo Household Composition Survey reported no affiliations. Among the few who did, Tigare was the most frequently cited cult. The Obo chief appears to support Tigare, although, as a politician, he tries to show no favouritism among Obo cults.

Tigare is not the personification of any river, animal, cave, or mountain, but with the prestige of long establishment, Tigare is elevated to the status of obosom. In spite of this, the priest is still called obosomfo, not okomfo (like the mediums of tutelar deities). When possessed, he wears the cap and smock of a northerner. Considerable money has accrued to Tigare for its purges over the years and the obosomfo has built one of the biggest two-storey cement multi-roomed compounds, during the 1950s.

Another witch-hunting cult in Obo, far less financially successful than Tigare, is Namguru. Like Tigare, it was brought from the north, and has a constellation of spirits, each with a different personality, costume, and function. When the abosomfo (priestesses) are possessed they also don northern smocks, communicate in broken Twi or northern languages, and act out their respective personalities. The Namguru house is in the older section of Obo, where most of the abosom reside.

Most of the Obo people possessed by these various beings have other homes in villages, usually on Obo land, where they go to farm. All of them live closely with kinsmen, for no one can effectively be possessed by a god and live alone. To be possessed requires the service of

attendants; thus an acolyte, when seeking the permission of his or her kinsmen to begin training, is asking for their co-operation. Possession is usually a lineage affair. The larger and more popular cults draw on the services of non-kinsmen who then obtain prestige and status by becoming the linguist of a particular god, or the drummer of a certain spirit. The Tano priestess, being very old, spends most of her time in Obo, but does go to her village, Attaso. The rest frequently move to and fro, between Obo, where they carry out ritual functions, and the villages where they make a living by farming, sometimes receiving supplicants and patients.

This concludes a brief sketch of the various classes of supernatural beings and their mediums. The role of these beings in Obo migration is twofold. The clerics or professionals (akomfo, sumankwafo, or abosomfo) and their attendants all return to the hometown at various times throughout the year to let the gods have their agoro ("play"; i.e., to have a party; sing, drum, and dance). The occasions for such visits are set according to the calendar (see below) and the special days set aside for each spirit. Once or twice a year (including the Akwasidae after the first yam-eating ritual) the Obo chief orders that all Obo gods must gather to play in Ohantrase; an occasion for the gods to pay homage to the chief and his ancestors. Mediums, attendants, supplicants, and onlookers all come from various places to participate; the community is drawn together. When everyone is scattered, however, the communication network of the extended community relays information about these gods. People in need of spiritual or magical assistance (as described below in the "Wellbeing" section) find out about the skills of these specialist practitioners through the migrants. The communication network of the dispersed Obo community passes on information to both Obo and non-Obo people so patients, clients, or supplicants find out where a medium may

be living, and may go to consult with the spirit. The supernatural beings then still hold the community together socially, even though it is dispersed geographically.

We now turn to more recent additions to the supernatural beings which populate the universe of Obo beliefs.

Belief: (b) Universal Religions

As migrants moved in and out of Obo and the extended community penetrated, and in turn was penetrated by other communities, the structure of beliefs underwent numerous changes. Because of outside technical and economic influences generally originating in Europe, an increase in Western religious beliefs would be the expected direction of change. The evidence is that these changes came about by accretion rather than by replacement; new was added on to old, with many of the latter extant.

Fiawoo has described changes in religious beliefs and rituals and the relationships to those changes of other cultural dimensions, in a neighbouring (Ewe) community. "Labour migrations and wage employment, especially among the youth, may imply less subservience to lineage authority and relative freedom of action even in the sphere of ritual behaviour," (Fiawoo 1969:20). He went on to demonstrate how Ewe ancestral ritual practices, based on individual and personal features, easily lead to adaptation rather than elimination. He observed that, "... belief in the ancestors may yet be viable in spite of social and economic change," (op. cit., p. 21). The delineation of a cultural survival is an important observation contradicting strict functionalist interpretation of the schools of Boas and Malinowski. Fiawoo's observations are important for this study for comparison, in that syncretic religious additions to Obo beliefs have resulted in adaptations and survival of the traditional pantheon in spite of migration and numerous changes in technology, economy, and social institutions.

Christianity, in its many guises and sects, is the most important contemporary religious accretion. Strict fundamentalist interpretations of the Bible would eliminate practices pertaining to beliefs in spirits and ancestors, but in Obo this is not the case, and elaborate funerals continue.

The evangelical mission work in Kwawu was first undertaken by Calvinist protestant missionaries (mostly German and Swiss), from Basle, Switzerland, so this sketch of the development of Western beliefs in Obo will begin with them.

Before the first European missionaries came to Kwawu, the dispersed nature of Kwawu communities brought migrants into contact with Christianity as traders travelled to the south. No records of first contacts at the coast are available, but reports of Basle missionaries in Akyem indicate that they were in contact with Kwawu migrants long before they went to Kwawu. In their letters to Basle, the Swiss missionaries wrote of the baptism, in 1867, of Boama, a migrant from Kwawu Dukoman, whose life history is kept in the Basle archives (Eisenschmid 1867:July 7, Jenkins 1970:532-4). Migration later took Kwawu converts elsewhere as Schlatter (1916:17, de Brunner 1967:201) wrote that James Boama, "occupied Petriensa as a second outstation in Ashanti-Akim" (op. cit.) in 1892. Meanwhile, before 1874, Kwawu was still part of the Asante empire. The 1862 annual report from Kibi to Basle noted that one of the three catechumens resident in the Christian quarter of the town was a Kwawu man. At the time of writing he had travelled temporarily to visit his home in Kwawu (Stromberg 1863:January 24, Jenkins 1970:508). It is not clear if these reports were all about the same man, but what is useful for our purposes is the attitude that return visits, an important element of Kwawu cyclical migration, appeared to be the accepted practice that early. Doubtless, residents in Kwawu as well as other Kwawu migrants would have heard

about Christian beliefs and rites from converts like them, as well as from non-converts.

It is generally thought that the Basle mission in Kwawu was founded by the Swiss missionary, Fritz Louis August Ramseyer. He may have been the most influential nineteenth century missionary in Kwawu but others, Swiss and African, were also involved. Ramseyer (born 1840) had spent four years with his wife, his children, a trader, and a fellow missionary as a captive in Kumasi[5] before returning to Switzerland in 1874 and becoming ordained in 1875. After entering the Basle mission house in 1861 he was sent to Anum on the Volta River where he was captured by Adu Bogu's troops. After the British defeated the Asante and signed the 1874 treaty of Fomena, Ramseyer and Glover toured Europe to raise money to support the "Ashanti Mission" in Kwawu on the Asante "frontier."

The first Basle missionaries in Kwawu were Weimer, a Swiss, and David Asante,[6] a well known member of the Akwapem royal family who had trained in Switzerland. They arrived in Kwawu in February 1876 to survey the district for a possible mission site, and for David Asante to preach in Twi. They considered locating the mission at Obo because it was the largest centre of population on the escarpment, but decided against it.

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5. "On their way to captivity at Kumasi, the Ramseyers, Kuhne, and Bonnat had stayed in Abetifi from 3rd to the 5th June 1869, and the population was friendly towards the captives, allowing them at last to eat their fill after three weeks of hunger in Afram plains," (Steiner 1913, translated by deBrunner 1967:198).

6. David Asante was born 23 December 1834 and after training by Basle missionaries, went to Switzerland and entered the mission house August 1857. He was ordained returned to the Gold Coast in June 1862. He became known for his clashes with the Okyenhene (paramount chief of Akyem Abuakwa) at Kibbi, which resulted in his leaving that town. He also travelled across the Afram plains to Salagha, writing about it for readers of the Basle mission literature. He died 13 October 1892. (Jenkins op. cit.)

They wrote that the lack of water near the best Obo site was the decisive factor, but since the Obo chief chose to attend some traditional religious rites rather than give them audience (Weimer 1876:February 22, Jenkins 1970:58), their reception in Obo was likely an unstated factor mitigating against building in Obo. At present the Baseremu neighbourhood of Obo contains a small rivulet, downhill from the chapel, which even today supplies sufficient water for the people through the dry season. The missionaries arrived during the dry season, but could hardly have overlooked the rivulet.

After two days of consultation with Abetifi elders, they bought land there instead of Obo, for 110 dollars (op. cit., and August 3, Jenkins 1970:58). Oral traditions in Obo relate that the Obo chief had shaved Ramseyer's head, and made him walk barefoot carrying the stool drums during his 1869 march to captivity in Kumasi. If it were true, perhaps this could be a factor. Contemporary reports of the same rumour were denied by an escaped prisoner of war who had seen the Ramseyer party in Kumasi and reported to the Basle missionaries in Kyebi (Lodholtz 1869: September 4, Jenkins 1970:548). Nevertheless, the pro-Asante sentiments in Obo could hardly have been unfelt by the missionaries (who were seen as anti-Asante, and partly responsible for the 1874 defeat of Asante), and their much warmer reception in pro-British Abetifi (which they mistakenly first thought of as the site of the Kwawu king) must have been decisive in their choice of Abetifi.

The Swiss wrote of their mission being founded in Kwawu:

> The Basle Mission had decided on a Kwahu station in 1875, but the Juaben war prevented the beginning of building until 1876. In 1877 the huge mission house was finished and a year later the beautiful little "Ramseyer Chapel" was dedicated with the baptism of the first five young men from Kwahu. A boys primary boarding school was opened.
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> (Schlatter 1916:III:116,
> translated by deBrunner 1967:199)

Obo was not the only pro-Asante, anti-Swiss faction in Kwawu at that time. By October of 1876 a principal diety, Atie Yau, and his priest, Bowie (who was eventually exiled by the British), forbade Abetifi and Nkwatia people from attending school or church (Weimer 1876:October 25, Jenkins 1970:59).

Rumours that the pro-Asante faction in Kwawu had imprisoned the Kwawu missionaries, soon reached the coast, and "... in 1876, all Kwahu traders in the Gold Coast colony were detained, till better news denying the rumours of the imprisonment of the missionaries came from Kwahu," (deBrunner 1967:199, citing Heidenbote 1876:86). As detailed in chapter three, it was not the last time migrant Kwawu incurred hostility where they went (perhaps due to their prowess in trade) and in the name of their alleged treason, came to grief in the host locations. The anti-European faction in Kwawu was strengthened by these events.

The political effect of the arrival of Swiss missionaries in Kwawu is described by deBrunner (1967:199) citing Der Evangelische Heidenbote as his primary source:

> The Ashanti rule had given internal peace to Kwahu, but the 1869-1872 Ashanti campaign against the Volta lands under Adu Bogu had weakened Kwahu, since the army and relief troops had passed through there. The Kwahu people are born traders. They did not like the Asantehene's commercial policy of importing goods from the coast only via the Adansi road to Kumasi, so as to be able to control the trade within the Ashanti empire so as to tax salt, powder and bullets....
>
> The Kwahus shrewdly declared their independence of Ashanti after the destruction of Kumasi by the English in 1874....
>
> The missionaries, especially the Ramseyers, were therefore very welcome for the Kwahus knew that the presence of the Ramseyers at Kumasi had at least hastened the English campaign in 1874, and that the presence of missionaries in Kwahu would make the Ashantis hesitate to reconquer it and that their presence might even eventually move the English to incorporate Kwahu into the Gold Coast colony.
>
> ... The anti-Ashanti party in Kwawu was indeed strengthened by the presence of the missionaries.
>
> (op. cit.)

DeBrunner was misled on only two points: he overlooked the Afram-Akwamu trade route to the coast via Kwamu, and assumed that the Asante once conquered Kwawu, which, as described above, is incorrect. The pro-Asante faction in Kwawu found its leadership in Obo, so it is easy to understand why Basle mission efforts met less success there than in Abetifi.

The earliest evangelical work in Obo began later as Philip Kwabi, at the Mpraeso outstation (which grew from three to nine members under him in 1881-2), regularly met with three or four youths in Obo. Occasionally they would attend services in Mpraeso. Kwabi reported that two of the Obo youths encountered considerable opposition from their families (Ramseyer 1883:II:101, Jenkins 1970:158). Dilger (op. cit. 1880) wrote that Obo people were eager to hear street preaching (Jenkins 1970:124), indicating that anti-Basle sentiment was probably stronger among the Obo elders than among the populace.

Nor was the opposition continuous. When Basle missionaries appeared to be in the good graces of the Asantehene (prior to the Ramseyer-Mohr expedition to Kumasi), the pro-Asante chief of Obo embraced Missionary Dilger and Philip Kwabi on a visit to Obo (Dilger 1881:March 2, Jenkins 1970:134).

Oral traditions in Obo indicate that when Obohene Asiama was requested to send a strong and intelligent son or nephew to the Basle school, he was reluctant to give up his own kinfolk. Instead, he sent a slave from his household, conveniently renamed Asiama for the service. Meanwhile the missionaries felt it was time to begin an outstation in Obo and settle a permanent catechist there rather than rely on the Mpraeso catechist to serve Obo.

In 1884, Missionary Gottlob Dilger took a catechist, Afwiring, to be introduced to Obohene Asiama. The Obohene asked about the status of slaves who became Christian (doubtlessly concerned about the near

collapse of the Abuakwa political system when slavery was abolished there in 1874). Dilger's reply was that a Kwawu slave should serve his master but not be forced to perform heathen rituals. Afwiring was allowed to stay in Obo, but it was not a happy stay. Two of the catechumens who had gone to Mpraeso contacted Afwiring. The mission had still not purchased land in Obo so Afwiring had to stay in town (Dilger 1884:August 23, Jenkins 1970:199), where he was more vulnerable.

By the beginning of the next year, Dilger wrote that the attempt to settle Afwiring had been frustrated due to illness, apparently resulting from an attempt to poison the catechist. In a footnote to Dilger's letter, Ramseyer wrote that he doubted the poisoning charge, suspecting that Afwiring was frightened of amulets and charms used against him (which in traditional terms amounted to poisoning), and had been unhappy about the high costs of food and firewood he had to buy in Obo (Dilger 1885:March 4, Jenkins 1970:186). Dilger wrote again to say that a native doctor (Afwiring's "relative") had explained that Afwiring's fainting fits and swollen legs were the result of being poisoned in Obo, and that Afwiring should claim mpata (satisfaction money) from the Obo "fetish" priest who had poisoned Afwiring. The Obo priest swore the Omanhene (Kwawu state) oath (Asaase Aban) to deny the charge; the case was therefore taken to the paramount chief's court. The case went against the priest. Dilger was concerned about the effect of the poisoning case on proposed mission policy for Obo (Dilger 1885:May 20, Jenkins 1970:199). By the end of the year, Dilger wrote that Afwiring had been transferred to Bepon (a town under Obo in the nifa division), but since his health had not improved he was sent home to Akwapem. Another catechist replaced Afwiring in Bepon but Obo remained without a resident catechist for some time. Thus Obo frustrated the early evangelical attempts of the Basle mission.

After Afwiring's attempt, Ramseyer took control of establishing an outstation in Obo. He complained that it took six journeys to Obo to purchase land. Part of the first land purchased was lost to Twinedurase because it was too close to Sasabo, the sacred rock (cave) on the hill northwest of town. Part of the land had to be repurchased, with new payments to the Obohene who claimed that the chief of Akwasiho who had first sold the land had not been entitled to do so. When the land was purchased the missionaries then settled catechist Mensah who was apparently welcome (Tschopp 1887:October 18, Jenkins 1970). One-eighth of the mission land could still not be used because of its proximity to Sasabo. Ramseyer also obtained a concession: a dispensation to eat on mission land certain foods such as rice, which were forbidden in Obo (Ramseyer 1887, op. cit.). Carpenters who had been trained at Abetifi came to work, and attended church services, but the missionaries complained that Obo was usually empty as most of the townspeople were away, many of them farming on the southern lowlands (Tschopp 1887, op. cit.). Thus the missionaries were hindered not only by the political conditions, but also by the pattern of satellite villages and cyclical migration.

Only eleven weeks after Kwawu signed its treaty with Britain, Ramseyer wrote to Governor William Branford Griffith to complain of further hindrances. Nana Asiama and his elders, including the (matrilineal) uncle of a young Obo man named Wiafe, forbade Wiafe from attending baptismal instruction in Mpraeso. The elders threatened to take the young man's three children away from him to be sold to pay family (i.e. lineage) debts (Ramseyer 1888:July 27). The Governor instructed the Colonial Secretary to send a runner with his silver linguist's stick to tell the Obo chief to stop harrassing Christians (Griffith 1888:August 3), and the Obo elders shortly dropped the case (minute papers, A.D.M. 11/1445, Ghana Archives). The Obo congregation then began to grow, but slowly,

far behind the growth rate for all Kwawu. By the end of 1891 Ramseyer reported the baptism of five adults (Ramseyer 1892:February 4) and in 1892, the last year of Asiama's reign, six adults and four children were baptized. Two adults moved onto mission land (Ramseyer 1893 op. cit.).

Antagonism between Obo and the Basle mission did not all originate among the pro-Asante party in Obo. Early in 1892, a young (27-year-old) Swiss missionary, Jakob Haasis,[7] who had arrived in 1890, displayed his disrespect for traditional beliefs no less than if he had eaten a ham sandwich in a synagogue. Haasis and a group of schoolboys from Abetifi went on an excursion, taking omankani (cocoyams) to Pitiko, where the god of the Afram River forbade its consumption. Pitiko is a stool (Aduana) town in the nifa division under Obo; the major shrine of the Afram on the banks of the river. After initial polite requests and explanations followed by hostile comments, the people of Pitiko then refused to sell fish to the boys or lend them cooking utensils, but the mission group blithely prepared fufu from the omankani they had brought, and ate it. The Afram fined the mission for breaking its proscription, but the missionaries ignored the case. The Pitiko people feared the Afram would withhold its fish in retaliation for having been polluted with omankani consumption on its banks. To avoid calamity resulting from the wrath of the god, Obohene Asiama paid the mpata (pacification) fine: £9, nine sheep, and nine hens (Haasis 1892:February 25, Jenkins 1970:281-2). Needless to say, this did not endear the Basle mission to

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7. Jakob Haasis was born 20 February 1865, Fruchtelfingen, Baling. He entered the Basle Mission House in August 1885. In 1890 he arrived on the Gold Coast. He had been in Abetifi less than two years when he took the schoolboys to Pitiko where he caused such a furor in the nifa division. After a furlough in 1898 he returned from Europe, but early in 1899 he died in Kumasi, of blackwater fever. (Jenkins op. cit.)

the Obo elders.[8] Feelings of antagonism towards the Europeans, and to their allies, the elders of Abetifi and Abene, were shared by the elders of both the benkum (Aduamoa) and nifa (Obo) divisions of Kwawu, and their rebellions against the paramount chief were the main factors in bringing Phillips to Kwawu a few days after the death of Nana Asiama in 1893.

Ramseyer went on leave to Europe in 1894, and while Haasis was left in charge of the Kwawu mission there was a rebellion within the Obo congregation. The Obo Christians did not want catechist Mensah to be posted away. Two leaders of the revolt were excluded, and one more left. Meanwhile, due to the efforts of catechist Mayer, twelve new members were added that year to the Obo congregation, primarily, however, people from Akwasiho, not Obo (Haasis 1895:February 19). On Ramseyer's return from Europe, he conferred with outgoing Governor Hodgeson and the new Governor, William Edward Maxwell, reconfirming his mandate to act as an agent of the British Government (Ramseyer 1896:May 8, Palaver Book 1896:May). After Ramseyer arrived again in Kwawu, another important pro-Asante opponent of the missionaries and the British, Okomfo (priest) Bowie, possessed by the Atie Yau god of Nkwatia, was exiled to Accra. Kofi Siri had played the part of Atie Yau, walking the streets of Abetifi and Nkwatia at night while all residents were required to hide indoors. Siri was unfrocked in the Bowie purge, and, changing sides, became a catechumen. The Fofie Okomfo (priest) at Abetifi also became a Basle catechumen (Ramseyer 1896 op. cit.).

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8. The attitude of the Basle missionaries towards both indigenous gods and ancestors was occasionally expressed by rude behaviour. In 1892, Muller noted Ramseyer demanding, and getting, silence for his preaching in the compound of an okomfo in Pepease, during the agoro (god's play) on a dabone or holy day. Later Muller reported Ramseyer doing the same thing during a funeral ceremony in Asakraka (Muller 1882:April 11, Jenkins 1970:170).

Atiem, the catechist who replaced Mensah in Obo, was replaced by Thomas Hall from Larteh in 1897, shortly after Hall had married Augustina Meyer. Seven Christians and two non-Christians were enrolled in the new Obo school. Five adults and three children were added to the congregation but two members died and three were excluded. One of the excluded members had been caught stealing yams and incurred the wrath of the townspeople. She was made to walk around the town lead by a Christian ringing a bell and proclaiming the reason for her exclusion. Construction began on the chapel and several Obo men began building houses on the mission land. Most of the Obo young men were absent on the rubber trade so migrant Krobo labourers were hired to build the chapel (Obrecht 1898: January 22).

The Obo congregation was still growing more slowly than the rest of Kwawu. In 1898, Edmund Perregaux, nephew of Ramseyer, returned from leave to build the second Gold Coast Basle Seminary in Abetifi. Noting that the Obo school was not thriving, Perregaux forced the hand of Obohene Kwame Kyei (elected by Phillips' secret ballot in 1893) by refusing a welcoming gift from the Obohene. Perregaux would not accept the gift of two hens until Obo sent scholars to the school. Sixteen boys were then sent, but only nine remained, and in the opinion of the missionaries, none were young enough for proper indoctrination (Jost 1899:January 13). Five Obo Christians were excluded that year, and only five children (no adults) baptized. Obo lagged far behind the rest of Kwawu Basle congregation which increased by 220 persons. Moses Ofosu, one of those excluded, had succeeded his maternal uncle, took the stool wives of the deceased, and became possessed by the stool god. Another exclusion, the first Obo convert, was excluded for "unbiddableness," because, hoping to become a presbyter, he had been exercising irregular authority over the congregation (Obrecht 1899:January 25).

From the turn of the century, the Basle congregation in Kwawu grew rapidly, although little of that growth was contributed by Obo. German-born missionaries were deported by the British in December 1917 and sent to English prison of war camps (deBrunner 1967:287). Dr. A.W. Wilkie of the United Free Church of Scotland arrived in February 1818, and took over the management of the church. For two years the government controlled the Basle schools, then handed them also over to Wilkie (op. cit., p. 288). This coincided with the construction of the Government School in Obo (see previous chapter) and accounts for its present double name: Local Authority Middle School, and Presbyterian A Middle School.

With the withdrawal of the Basle missionaries, Obo opposition to the congregation decreased, at least overtly. "In 1926 the Synod of the former Basle Mission and then Scottish mission church met at Abetifi and adopted gladly the new name Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast (op. cit., p. 294). Wilkie left in 1931, having converted the Basle mission to Presbyterian. When on behalf of the Presbyterian Church the Basle mission (permitted to return, but only to Ashanti) opened a mission hospital at Agogo (op. cit.. p. 327), which has close kin and historical ties to Obo (see above), the antagonism of Obo elders to the mission decreased. Although the coolness has not disappeared entirely, the Presbyterian congregation began to grow more rapidly until today, as the oldest Christian congregation, it claims the most affiliations among the extended Obo community.

The Anglican congregation in Obo, second most numerous among the extended community, was introduced in very different manner from the Presbyterian. With its headquarters in Cape Coast, the Anglican Church sent a resident chaplain to Accra (where Obo traders were migrating in increasing numbers) in 1878, and developed mainly along the coast (deBrunner op. cit., p. 243 ff.) primarily among the urban elite (op. cit., p. 334). In 1898

the British annexed Asante and sent the Asantehene into exile for over a quarter century:

> Nana Prempeh having been deported in 1896 as a pagan, his return as a Christian in 1924 made a big impression on the Ashantis, and did much towards helping Christianity to take root in Ashanti. Anglicanism in particular owes much to Nana Prempeh I.
>
> (deBrunner 1967:312)

The Anglican Church became particularly well established in Asante-Mampong, which has had close political and historical ties with Obo. (At the death of any important Obo elder, the Queen Mother of Asante-Mampong is always invited to participate in the funeral, and all her expenses are paid by Obo.) By then the Obo elders saw that Christianity was inevitable; a part of then-modern colonial life and the main channel for educating the youth. Pro-Asante sentiment, and trade connections in Accra, then disposed Obo to look favourably upon the Anglican Church, if nothing more than as a snub to Abetifi which supported the Presbyterian Church.

The first Anglican Church building in Obo (now the Seventh Day Adventist Chapel) was built with funds raised at a harvest held on an Akwasidae, wealthy Obo migrants to Accra and Koforidua contributing the most.

The priestess of the Tano god donated the land. The present St. Paul's Anglican Church, along with the Anglican schools (primary and boys' middle) and the Anglican-originated secondary school (Kwawu Ridge), are all located on a large tract of land in the Asamanya (see chapter two) neighbourhood, donated by the royal Obo lineage. Children of the late Tano priestess are numbered among some of Obo's most wealthy citizens, traders in Accra (see chapter three). Obo oral traditions state that the Tano god favours the Anglican Church and that certain traditional religious objects are buried in the foundation of the church. As table VI:c indicates, the Obo Anglican congregation is relatively (for

Ghana) large, and considerably urban in constitution. An Anglican Church in the Adabraka neighbourhood of Accra was built by and is attended by Obo Anglicans who have migrated to Accra. The Anglican clergy move frequently between the two churches and at Easter, when Obo fills with urban migrants, the Pastor comes from Accra to perform the Anglican rites.

The two major Obo churches, Presbyterian and Anglican, together account for about a third of the extended community population. The difference in their introduction to Obo was mainly in the role of migration; the former was brought in by non-Obo migrants temporarily in Obo, the later by Obo migrants (to Koforidua and Accra) who brought back the church. Most of the traditional cults, from the Larteh-based Akonedi god, to the witch-hunting Tigare spirit from Ypala, were brought in by the later method. Other cults, brought in by non-Obo migrants temporarily in Obo (and they were numerous when Obo was a bustling nineteenth century entrepot), left when the migrants did. The newer Christian additions can be classed in the same categories, the most of the rest introduced by returning Obo migrants. The Presbyterian and Anglican contrasts are associated with political factions that affect the town and state. The smaller sects and cults are more closely associated with individuals, lineages, or small groups of lineages.

The relationships between religious affiliation and rural-urban variations in migration are shown in table VI:b, which also shows that after the Anglican and Presbyterian congregations, the Methodist and Roman Catholic churches are next in membership size. The category African Christian (used in the Ghana census) is broken down in the following table, and includes Odifo Nkansa (African Faith Tabernacle), M.D.C.C. (Musama Disco Christo), and Memenada Gyidifo (Saturday Faith) congregations. These can be described briefly.

The Roman Catholics, who constitute the largest Christian group in Ghana, and among the Akan (table VI:a), are not as numerically important in the extended Obo community (table VI:b). The Catholic Church in Obo is the responsibility of the S.V.D. (Society of the Divine Word, founded in Steyl, the Netherlands) who first came as missionaries to Lome in 1892 (deBrunner op cit., p. 225). The Koforidua mission began in 1913 and the first priest came to Nkawkaw just after the railway was built (Elsbernd op. cit.). Ewe (labour) migrants in Nkawkaw met to form a small congregation and a priest came to say mass in 1923.

In 1924 the mission began. In 1925, Kwadwo Fodwo, a Presbyterian from Kwawu Tafo who was working in Nkawkaw, began receiving instruction as a Catholic catechumen under Father Stauffer who ran the Nkawkaw mission. Fodwo's child was baptized in Kwawu Tafo and an outstation was begun there in 1926 when Father John Haut visited and baptized seven infants. In 1932 Kwawu Tafo became a mission outstation, under Koforidua, served by Father J. Lemmens.

It was not until 1934 that a Catholic outstation was begun in Obo, and in six other Kwawu centres including Bepon and Asakraka. In 1942 Father Elsbernd (S.V.D.) and Father Noser (S.M.A.) came to Kwawu Tafo to build the priest's residence, sisters from the S.Sp.S. order coming two years later to begin a maternity clinic. Father Elsbernd donated a considerable portion of his inheritance to build the Tafo station. From 1939 the Accra diocese, which includes Kwawu, has been under the charge of the American Province of the S.V.D. At that time there were sixteen baptized Catholics in Obo (mostly Ewe migrants) and by 1934 there were thirty-four.

The Catholic Church in Obo is located on the Obomen road in N.T. brong, next to the Catholic primary and middle schools. S.V.D. priests, mainly from U.S.A., Germany, and Holland, have distinguished themselves

in learning vernacular languages, undergoing extensive Twi or Ga training before doing parish work. From 1906 the society has edited, "... the leading Roman Catholic anthropological and linguistic periodical, Anthropos," (deBrunner 1967:226). Father Elsbernd said that the major objective is to convert local people, who somewhat look down on (Ewe and other) migrants who are associated with Catholicism in Kwawu. The Obo household survey indicates that some progress in this regard has been made.

The second most numerically important Christian denomination in Ghana, Methodist, like the Catholic, is relatively unrepresented in the extended Obo community. The Methodist Church was closely associated with the work of T.B. Freeman, who visited Asante in 1839, and with William de Graft, who accompanied Freeman to England in 1840. The church was supported by the President of the Council of Churches, George Maclean, at Cape Coast Castle, and developed at first in Fante, then later in Asante areas (deBrunner op. cit.). The Methodist Church in Obo is primarily supported by an (Obo migrant) businessman in Accra with family (Oyoko clan) ties in Asante, who built the Methodist Church near Awenade Park next to his two houses. Rev. J.H. Obresi is the Superintendent Minister. Like the Anglican Church, there is a Methodist Church in the Adabraka neighbourhood of Accra, next to one of the same Obo businessman's Accra houses. Rev. Ebenezer Allotey-Pappoe leads the congregation there, but there is much movement back and forth between Accra and Obo Methodist Churches.

Other congregations, even smaller, the Pentecostal and Apostolic groups, are also closely associated with individual patrons and their families. The Pentecostal Church is located below (i.e., south of) the Methodist Church in the Awenade area of Obo. Tables VI:c and d show the distribution of membership affiliation among urban and rural surveyed members of the extended community.

There are three religious sects in Obo which are branches of African groups that have split from European-originated denominations. These are Musama Disco Christi, Memenada Gyidifo, and Odifo Nkansa. Collectively these are known as Odifo or spiritualist churches because of their resemblance, in beliefs and rites, to the traditional non-Christian sects and cults.

The Musama Disco Christi Church (M.D.C.C.) was founded by an expelled Fante Methodist catechist, Joseph William Egyankwa Appai, in Gomoa during the 1920s. The M.D.C.C. incorporates spirit possession, witch-purging, and an organization based on Akan political structure. They meet in a rented room next to the Obo marketplace. The Obo M.D.C.C. is small, includes many Fante migrants, and being in conflict with the Tigare cult which is still important in Obo, is not popular among Obo residents. Only thirteen surveyed Obo residents in Obo were M.D.C.C., and two were visitors from villages and three from towns. During any meetings I attended, apart from a male preacher, all the congregation (25 to 35) was female. No Obo migrants to Accra were found to be M.D.C.C. on the household composition survey.

The Memenada Gyidifo (Saturday Faith People or Saturday Believers) was founded during the 1920s by a former Seventh Day Adventist in Osiem in Akyem Abuakwa (near Kwawu) and later expanded to Agogo in Asante Akyem. It differs from orthodox S.D.A. in permitting polygamy, drinking, and meat-eating, and in practising faith-healing and possession. The close historical and kinship ties between Obo and Agogo are mainly responsible for its introduction to Obo, and there are numerous Memenada Gyidifo members in Obo satellite villages in the Awenade area of the southern lowlands. As described in chapter two, the church is built on the north side of town in an area known as "Faith" because of the word gyidi (faith or belief) in its name. The Obo household survey shows that

the Memenada Gyidifo affiliates are found primarily among Obo migrants to villages (table VI:d). This is the reverse pattern of the distribution of Anglicans and Presbyterians who are more likely migrants to Accra.

The African Faith Tabernacle was founded in Anyinam (in Akyem Abuakwa also near Kwawu) by an Obo migrant, Kwame Nkansa, a former Presbyterian. Although literature originating from the Faith Tabernacle (in U.S.A.) is available at the Obo meeting place, the beliefs and practices are more African. Like a traditional cult or obosom, the services are conducted with the use of talking drums and akasa rattles and, like the other spiritualist churches, songs and dancing are accompanied by large square tamboli ("tambourines") made of skins stretched on square frames. The congregation meets in a room of a large cement house built by a wealthy Obo migrant cocoa farmer who has donated it to that use. Locally the people are known as Odifo Nkansa (Spiritualist/Prophet Nkansa) and are most closely related to the matrilineages of the Obo Kuruntehene (Nkansa's own lineage) and the Obo Ankobeahene. The Kuruntehene told me that formerly every stool (i.e., lineage) had a (river) god, but in modern (Christian) times, many of them have a Christian denomination instead of or as well as a tutelar spirit.

Although the dispersed Obo community is united by kinship links, there is a substantial variation in religious practice. In no case did a residence group, comprising more than one person, have only one reported religious affiliation. People from one household attended various church services, or claimed no religious affiliation, yet subscribed to beliefs in supernatural beings.[9] A statistical test was

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9. Children tended to go to the church of a Christian parent, or one of the same denomination as their school. I noted children in church

made to determine if variation in usual place of residence also was related to variation in religious affiliation. Table VI:b shows the distribution by religion, of Obo residents and visiting migrants, in a condensed form for comparison with the total Akan population (1960) and that of Ghana (table VI:a). Before it was condensed for presentation here, a chi square statistic on the table of all religious affiliations, by usual place of residence, was calculated for analysis. On 42 degrees of freedom a X^2 of 334.06 points out that usual place of residence of Obo migrants is related to religion. The significance is demonstrated by comparison with an alpha (significance level) of 0.995 at 22.14 or an alpha of 0.005 at 69.34 (Rohlf and Sokal 1969:164), both of which are much lower than the result obtained.

Numerous concentrations of religious affiliations were found in the table. High concentration of affiliation with the mission churches was found among the Accra migrants (34.76 in the cell), while there was a low concentration of affiliation with the spiritualist churches among the Obo people in Accra (30.03 in the cell). Among the Obo residents there was a low concentration of affiliations with the spiritualist churches (10.68 in the cell), while among the Obo migrants usually residing in the villages there was a higher than statistically expected number of persons

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who were "monitors" taking names of fellow school children if they missed church. I watched school children being punished on Mondays for not attending church the previous day. The compound where I resided while in Obo is a good example of the variation in affiliations. The owner was a devout pentecost, always attending whenever he was in Obo. His wife and their children attended Presbyterian Chapel. The wife's sister, and a son by a previous marriage, attended Catholic Mass. A younger sister of the wife attended Anglican Church and went to the secondary school (on Anglican land). The owner's son by a previous marriage was Methodist. All the migrants visiting the house went to various churches, except an Akwapem labourer who was not Christian. The owner's other brothers and mother were Presbyterian. The resident anthropologist was not a Christian but attended services of all the churches in Obo.

with no religious affiliations (27.33 in the cell). The statistical analysis supports the hypothesis that in spite of the kinship unity of the dispersed community, the two variables religious affiliation and residence are correlated, producing a statistically heterogeneous matrix. Obo migrants moving to the urban areas tend more to be associated with the Western established churches, while those going to the villages tend to be more traditional. The condensed form of the full matrix (table VI:b) clearly shows the relationship between frequency of Christian affiliations and degree of urbanness of the usual place of residence within the dispersed community.

The concentration of religious affiliations of Obo students by religious administration of each school is significant (table VI:d). Among the religious affiliations not associated with schools administered by specific churches, what concentrations there are appear to be based on convenience rather than theological consideration. The boys Anglican school has attracted a significant number of non-Christians, but the strongly partisan schools (Methodist and Catholic), further away from the two centres, attract more of their own faith. The Memenada Gyidi congregation have tended to locate their residences in the "Faith" neighbourhood of Obo (see chapter two), which is close to the two Presbyterian schools. Most students who go to Memenada Gyidi Church go to Presbyterian schools. The Pentecost Church and most of the Pentecostal congregation are located near Awenadi park. The two schools closest to Awenadi are the Anglican and government middle schools which attract most of the Pentecostal students. It may be argued that students attend the churches of their respective school administrations to improve the favour with which they are regarded, and the association of church attendance and nearness to school with choice of school supports this argument.

Religious and educational activities appear to be closely related in the views of Obo people. This is doubtless a result of the historical introduction of schools by the missions, and is maintained by continued administration of state and community-assisted schools by Christian organizations. One Obo priestess wistfully mentioned to me that she had to discontinue her education at middle form two when she was first possessed by her abosom, because the teachers and students laughed and jeered at her. Frequently when conducting the household composition survey I found a respondent replying, "I never went to school," when asked about church affiliation or, "I am not a Christian," or "I don't go to church," when asked about achieved educational level. A test was made to determine how closely statements of religious affiliation by Obo students related to their school attendance. To control for immediate social influences, questions were asked in their homes (although another survey, not yet tabulated, was carried out in all the Obo middle schools) about religious affiliation and school attendance. The results are presented in table VI:d. Sometimes interviews were conducted while the students were away at school or farm, and the household informant was not sure of religious affiliation. Occasionally an informant would state that the child was too young to make any decision.

The tables produced from the Obo household survey show an important association between migration and church affiliation. Among the more "orthodox" Christian churches, where beliefs and practices more closely resemble those in the (European or American) country of origin, the membership tends to consist of Obo migrants who have gone to urban areas. Among the "African Christian" churches, which in belief and practice appear to be blends of imported Christian and indigenous traditional, the membership tends to consist of Obo migrants who have gone to rural areas. The spiritualist churches can compete on an equal footing with

the tutelar spirits. Services, which resemble the agoro (play) dances, witch-purging, purification, fertility-producing, and healing of traditional cults, spirits, and gods are more meaningful and spiritually satisfying to rural migrants. Services in the established churches are better designed to meet the aspirations of the more socially mobile urban migrants.

Christianity is the most important universal or foreign source of religious change in the Obo community. As table VI:b shows, there were very few Muslims resident in Obo and fewer among Obo migrants that visited.[10] One Obo Muslim named "Osofo" (preacher), because of his enthusiastic evangelism, is a member of the Amoakade royal lineage. He owns a passenger lorry which he drives daily to Accra, on which Osofo is painted in bold letters. He estimates a total of seventeen (male) Muslims who meet regularly at Sikafoambantem junction near the erstwhile Zongo. Only six of them are Obo people; the rest are migrants from the north temporarily living in Obo. Other northerners who are not active Muslims also associate with the Muslim community for mutual aid, society, and protection. While Muslim beliefs and practices are close to negligible in the extended Obo community, other religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Marxism, Judaism, Bahaism, Zoroastrianism, etc.) are unknown in Obo. Migration from Obo, and migration to Obo (most effectively the former) has resulted in new, mostly Christian, beliefs added to the traditional ones. Obo migrants bringing new beliefs back when they return leave a greater mark on the belief structure than non-Obo migrants who temporarily reside in Obo.

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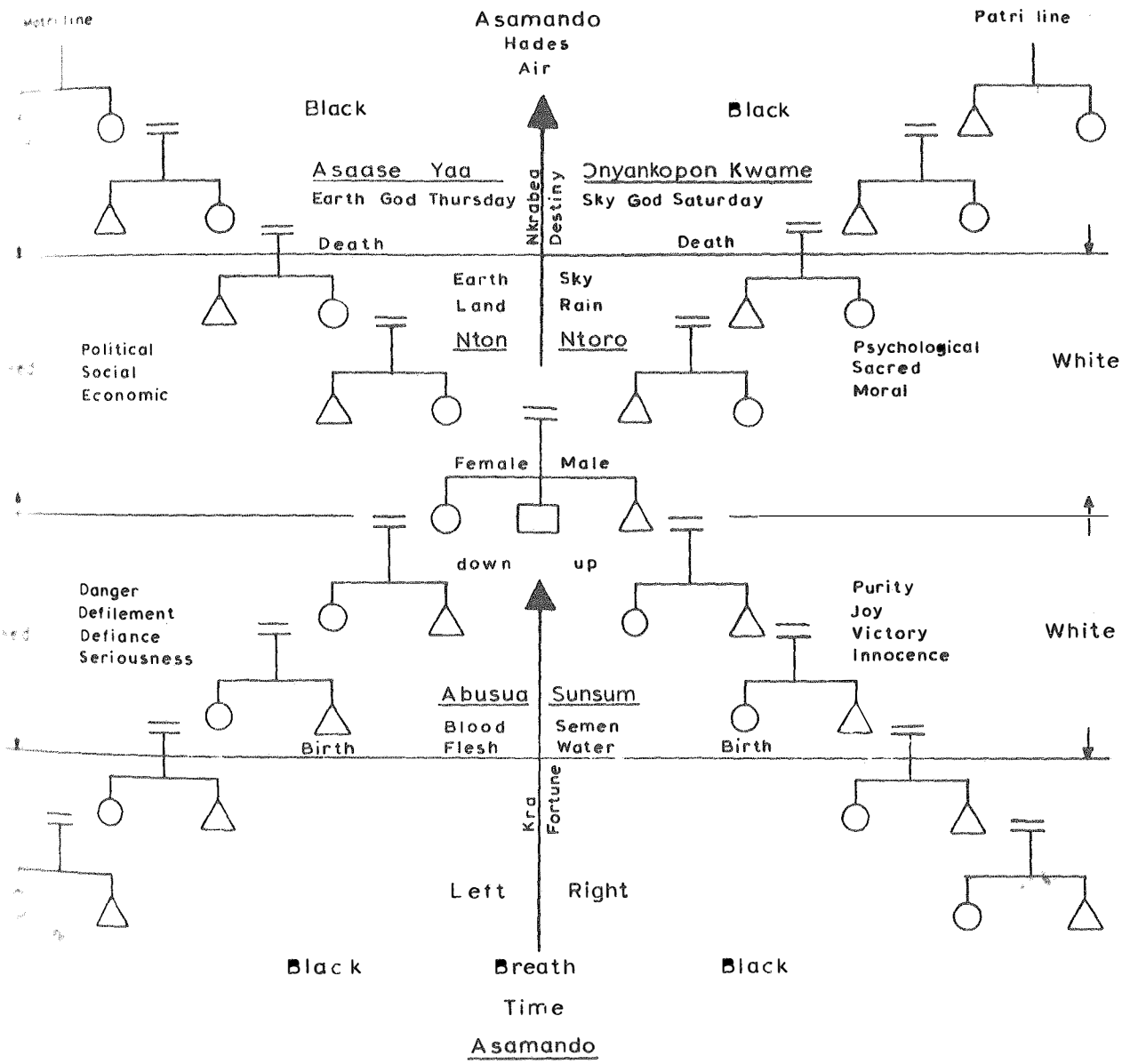
10. Muslim religion, like Tigare, came from the north via Kwawu Nkwantanan on the Afram plains, and was a product of trade with the north. In 1906, Crowther wrote that the "Mohamedan Settlement" at Nkwantanan was developed because traders came via Atabubu to buy kola nuts and to sell shea, cloth, and leather goods from the north (1906:177).

KWAWU KINSHIP AND COLOUR COSMOGRAPHY



We now examine supernatural beliefs as they apply to ideas about good health and good luck.

Belief: (c) Health and Fortune

In the ideology of the Obo community, spiritual, psychical, and physiological wellbeing are intertwined. As Twumasi pointed out, "A *sine qua non* of traditional medicine is that the service is performed through the utilization of magico-religious acts and concepts," (Twumasi 1975:9, citing Harley 1944, and Middleton 1954). Although physical causation of disease and accident is recognized, the cause of misfortune striking any particular person or group is attributed to an external (supernatural) force or personality. Supernatural help is thus sought to supplement any medical cures by identifying and eliminating external causes of illness and misfortune. This contrasts with a common Western (scientific) ideology which attributes disease and accident to material causes.

The complementary nature of religion, magic, and medicine in Obo ideology was not contradicted by the arrival of scientific medicine; the two major scientific medical centres in Kwawu were founded by Christian missionary organizations, the Catholic hospital at Nkawkaw and the Seventh Day Adventist hospital at Atibie. Just outside Kwawu, the hospital at Agogo (the sister town to Obo) in Asante Akyem, was built by the Basle mission on behalf of the Presbyterians. It is attended by many Obo people. Christian mission organizations opposed traditional religious beliefs and practices, but were seen by Obo people as mere competitors to the indigenous practitioners (although better equipped) rather than enlighteners who would render the *akomfo*, *abosomfo*, etc. obsolete. Clearly, the problems of health belong to the religious dimension of the Obo community, now as then, and will be described here in terms of their role in migration and social organization.

With migration taking Obo people to urban areas and back, and with the diffusion of ideas inevitably following culture contact which is part of the interpenetrating nature of the extended Obo community, one might ask how much modern scientific medicine has replaced traditional healing practices. Obo is a transitional community, combining old and new features, making it difficult to empirically distinguish between so-called traditional and so-called modern in the dynamics of contemporary society. Some have chosen to make that distinction, and whatever may be identified as traditional in Obo, could be compared with Twumasi's description of traditional Asante cosmology:

> Within the traditional context of Asante cosmology, illness is not considered as just the result of pathological change. The supernatural is invariably invoked as the main causal factor. Within this framework the concepts of the etiology of health and illness are far more behavioural than biological. Health and illness are not isolated phenomena, but part of the whole magico-religious fabric.
>
> (Twumasi 1975:8)

Twumasi goes on to point out that in transitional Ghanaian society traditional medicine survives in rural areas and in the area of psychosomatic disorders (op. cit. xvii, 134). In his words, "... in the Ghanaian urban milieu, there is little ritual in social life, hardly any in domestic or economic relations." The Obo study supports Twumasi's contention in part. Obo migrants to Accra do not participate much in the colourful rituals in older sections of Accra where Ga priests, priestesses, elders, etc. engage in ancient religious and medical practices. Obo migrants to Accra, however, both Christians and animists, pray at home and in church, pour libations, and attend outdoorings, memorial services and the like in Accra. The rituals most important for the dispersed community, Akwasidae, Easter, and funerals, in contrast, are carried out during visits back to the hometown. Honouring the ancestors with libation could be thought of as preventive rather than curative medicine. The Obo community

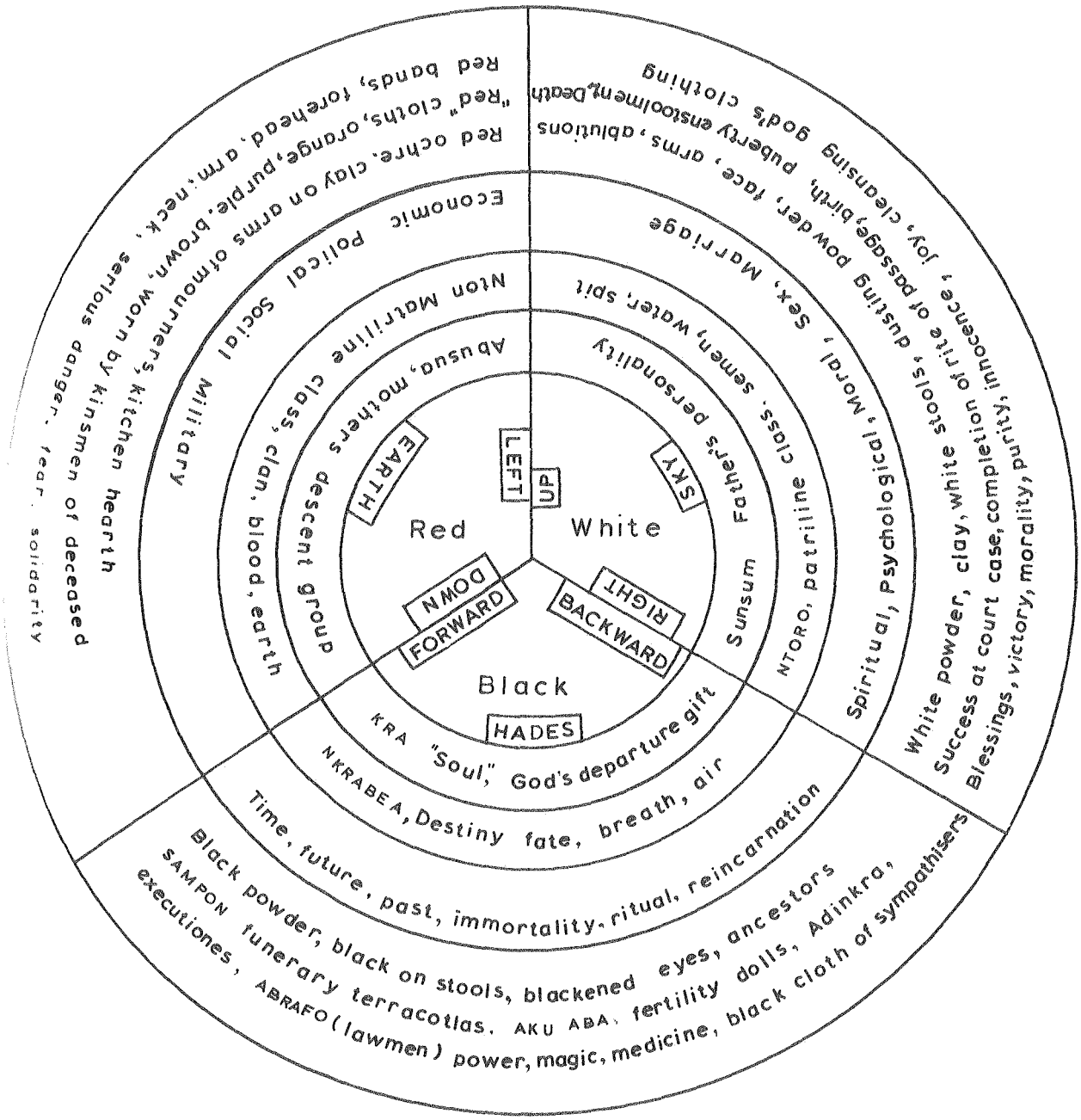
penetrates both urban and rural host locations and, as described in the previous chapter, Obo people are both rural and urban in identity. Obo migrants to both urban and rural locations go to hospitals, to herbalists, and to people possessed by tutelar deities. The compounds of local deities, or witch-hunting cults (e.g., Tigare) are patronized by both rural and urban migrants, Christian and animist. The classification "traditional-scientific" should not be mechanically translated or correlated as rural-urban. They are both complementary classifications that constitute a total dispersed community.

The spiritual causes of sickness or misfortune may take many forms. Misfortune is seen as a problem of disharmony. Perhaps a person's kra (destiny) was a kra-biri (dark kra): one which has chosen evil, misfortune, loss, or weakness. A patient suffering from a kra-biri would seek professional spiritual help in changing his kra; either by modifying the existing one or trading it in for a better one. If a person's sunsum is not strong enough to hold his kra, the kra will leave and that person will wither.

Preventive medicine against these disharmonies includes the acquisition of spiritual protection. A suman is such a protection, similar to the abosom (gods) except it could be a product of man as well as of God or the gods. It is usually kept in a small leather-covered package and worn as a talisman. The suman is a medicine or power which wards off evil, disease, and bad luck. It often has a name, including its kra name for the day it was made, and the person it protects is expected to offer it gifts, usually libations, regularly, and is also often expected to observe some food proscriptions against things seen as pollutants by the particular suman.

Cause of disease or misfortune is seen by an individual as external to himself. His kra and sunsum, etc. may be his own, but when they

AKAN COSMOLOGY AND COLOUR CATEGORIES



trouble the patient he sees them as separate somehow from his self. It may be premature here, without undertaking some intensive research, to say that the Obo community (perhaps all Akan culture) is a "guiltless" society. Fault is never identified with one's self - always with something external.[11] Even when a thief is caught, his "confession" is usually a lamentation that some evil spirit had deceived him. This notion is operative in the dynamics of witch-purging in the search for wellbeing. Sometimes if a person is sick, or suffers from misfortune (such as being barren), a witch is blamed. The term bayi is usually translated as the activity of witchcraft or sorcery (Christaller 1932: 11), but in Obo it appears to be a class of supernatural things which are personified entities that include deities (abosom), ghosts (asaman), medicines (suman), and so on; the major feature being that the bayi are all evil. A witch then, obayifo, was translated as a person practising witchcraft (op. cit.). Observations in Obo lead to the notion that an obayifo is a person possessed by this evil spirit, which causes the person to engage in evil magical practices, to the detriment of others who are usually close consanguines. A person suffering from boils, open sores, barrenness, or the like usually attributes this to the activities of a relative, usually matrilineal, usually female, and usually poor or barren or in some condition where jealousy would be expected. Not only is the evil external to the diseased one (e.g., the fault of the witch), but also seen by the accused witch as external to himself. When "confessing", the person does not assume fault, but ascribes the activity (often begun as protective medicine) as the result of being possessed by

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11. This idea is not new. "In very general terms, an African does not blame himself for failure. The fault must be someone else's. If a neighbour is successful, it cannot be that he is cleverer: it must be that he is more wicked, or has stronger magic," (M.J. Field, comments in Garlick 1971:109).

a witch spirit who is often named. It appears that guilt is not internalized even though disease and ill fortune are thought of as evil rather than the chance happening of natural forces.

As indicated earlier, the role of activity related to witchcraft beliefs is curative rather than preventive. It is a purgative. Bleek (1975) has clearly shown the role of witchcraft accusations in the tensions of family and lineage in a Kwawu town near Obo. Although lack of data inhibits statements about the rise of anti-witchcraft cults being caused by an increase of anomie accompanying modernization (Goody 1957), it is possible to observe tensions related to such things as differential access to wealth and differential social mobility. These things were far from absent in pre-colonial times, but definitely increased with urbanization, commercial and industrial developments, and migration which brought Obo people into more complex social systems. One must agree with Twumasi (1975:117) that new, difficult goals are sought, anxiety and discontent are generated, and perhaps Ward (1956) was right in associating witch-hunting cults with rapid social changes. Envy and dissatisfaction are two qualities abhorred in the Obo moral structure, and a rise in monetary, occupational, and social differentiation, resulting in unequal access to education, popularity, health, and power, provide considerable cause for those feelings. Although these factors cannot be measured, any more than a rise in witch-hunting activities, they are clearly related.

Bayi is an evil which causes people, often neglected old women, to "eat" their kinsmen and share the meat with their comrades, fellow bayifo from other families. Many old women keep various suman medicines and protective amulets as positive medicine; protection against harm and assistance in keeping healthy and comfortable. When their neuroses, guilt, and envy prey on them they become susceptible to witchcraft accusations (Field op. cit.) and then those charms they had used as protection

are reidentified as evidence of sorcery used against others. The container that held their suman is then identified as an abayi senwa, the thing which contains witch power. Some observers wrote that bayi is practised only matrilineally (Field op. cit., deBrunner op. cit.), but Obo informants explained that any close kinsman could be suspected of practising witchcraft on them.

When a person becomes sick, loses his wealth, or cannot have a baby, that person seeks assistance from a professional. The patient is given medicine and the assurance that the supernatural spirit possessing the professional has identified the correct witch and is in the process of killing it. The patient is expected to support the cult, such as Tigare, by following the laws and proscriptions, and will continue to receive preventive medicine in the future. These laws account for the decline of theft noted by the D.C., mentioned above. Anyone identified as a witch, however, after confessions, becomes purged of the evil and is then required to follow the cult rules as to avoid being possessed again by bayi then killed by the witch killer. Black powder (boto) having spiritual or medicinal powers, and certain herbs (such as garlic) are used to keep bayi from attacking again. Thus Tigare cleans or cures both the witches and their victims.

Another form of bayi differs somewhat from the above description. It is sometimes known as Nzima bayi, named after an ethnic group in southwest Ghana once reputed to be skilled in obtaining wealth through magic (Garlick op. cit., deBrunner op. cit.). In Obo it is more frequently called sika eduru (money medicine), and is seen as a type of sorcery wherein someone sells his soul for wealth. Sika eduru appears to be faustian in theme, although as well as sacrificing his soul, the customer also sacrifices a loved one. This could be a wife or girlfriend as well as a consanguineal kinsman. The customer is thought to have

placed personal wealth above everything, thus when his life is shortened as a result of buying some sika eduru, as long as he gained enough money for his lineage to organize a big funeral for him, then it is thought he made a rational, although immoral, decision. Sacrifice, an important element of the protestant ethic of Western capitalism, takes the form of sacrifice of one's soul and the life or health of a loved one. Given the reputed meanness, frugality, and shrewdness of Obo traders, it is not strange to find their detractors willing to accuse Obo traders of engaging in sika eduru. Heart attacks and other illness induced by hypertension among Obo traders, whose business enterprise results in this being an occupational hazard, are particularly prone to dying before old age, but after attaining success in trade. This and the large number of empty houses in Obo (explained in chapter three) are cited by envious people as evidence that Obo people shorten their lives to become wealthy. With such a large dispersed population (including many wealthy migrants) relative to a small hometown population of residents, the number of elaborate funerals in Obo appears to be disproportionately high. For these reasons, Obo people have the reputation of engaging in Nzima bayi (deBrunner op. cit., Garlick op. cit.), even though no Obo trader would admit to doing so, nor have any witch hunters accused any Obo trader of engaging in bayi activity.[12]

The line between the practice of "good" and "bad" medicine is very thin. People go to the professional mediums for fertility, success, and

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12. This notion of sacrifice was described by deBrunner. "The psychological price for the winning of riches is 'to cut one's self adrift from his family.' That is exactly what the pagan seeking Nzima-bayi is supposed to do, by sacrificing the most beloved person, not spending money for three years, looking like a miser going about in rags, having a constant ugly sore, eating cheap food; e.g., only gari. The traders of a certain Akan tribe are well known for this practice, therefore it is not surprising that Nzima-bayi is attributed to them," (deBrunner 1961:73).

protection against harm. When is success as an objective good, and when is it bad? The answer lies in the means, not the end; what and how much to be paid for in return for desired ends. Since Obo traders have a reputation for practising sika eduru, it is not surprising that many non-Obo people come to Obo seeking the answer to success in business. One day in the Fofi compound in Obo, two young men from coastal towns came seeking assistance. They were aspiring businessmen, but they had run into some bad luck so came to seek protection from the Obo god. The okomfo received them and asked to hear their story before praying to the god on their behalf. In the course of their narrative they suggested that they would be willing to make a few sacrifices in the pursuit of their aim.... The priest became very angry and curtly told them to leave. Explaining later, he said that they were evil men who had come looking for a bad spirit that would make them rich at the expense of their souls and loved ones (P.B. field notes 1974). Clearly the priest did not want the reputation of selling Nzima bayi. Whereas a medium of any supernatural entity wants the reputation of being able to help people obtaining success, fertility, or good luck, none wants the reputation of selling evil "get-rich-quick" medicine that helps a patient at the expense of someone else.

Perhaps more observable a manifestation of a modern introduction of new cults (more than witch-hunting cults) is the development of spiritualist churches. Those active in Obo, and attended by Obo migrants, have been described above. They reinforce the traditional fusion of religious and medical belief and activity:

> Syncretic or spiritual churches that emphasize healing have similarily mushroomed in Ghana, and the treatment of sick people is no longer the exclusive right of traditional healers and practitioners of scientific medicine but also the privilege of 'prophets' and 'brothers' of the spiritual church.
>
> (Nketia 1975:xv)

Although these churches grew up after World War Two, Nketia sees them as a manifestation of continuity with the ideology and cosmology of the past. The spiritualist churches use Christian practices such as: baptisms, talking in tongues, possession by the holy spirit, healing, etc. They appear to satisfy a need overlooked by the established Western-oriented mission churches. Healing and the purging of witchcraft, of much importance in Christian churches before (or at the beginning of) the industrial revolution, are now scorned and avoided. The spiritualist churches fill that gap. The Odifo Nkansa church in Obo, for example, uses traditional talking drums and has an organization based on the pattern of elders in a chief's council.[13] It is clearly a synthesis of traditional institutions and Christian practices. One of its major functions is to protect against witches and other bad luck. The True Worshippers Church (Nokware Sorefo Asore) was founded by Jacob Kumi in Kwawu Praso, and the Gethsemene Revelation Church in Nkawkaw was founded by Rockson Boama. Branches of many other spiritualist churches are found throughout Kwawu. With their emphasis on witch-purging and healing, the spiritualist churches are clearly syncretic medico-religious institutions adapted to the needs of a society beginning to industrialize.

Not all professional healers outside the official medical profession overtly use supernatural assistance. Goldmsiths, for example, both those resident in Obo and Obo migrants, are sought for charms. One Obo goldsmith, who is unable to walk due to withered legs, not only makes gold jewellery but also makes copper bracelets, leglets, bands, and rings. People come to Obo to buy these because they say they bring luck and ward

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13. Healing activities involve sprinkling with dust made holy or curative, a bottle of which usually sits on the table during services. People requested that they be sprinkled with it during services. Informants explained that we humans should be humble before God for we were made of dust and shall end as dust; God can heal with such a common substance as mere dust or water.

off evil. He makes no claims of supernatural assistance, but he doesn't contradict people who claim his rings give protection.

Herbalists are another group engaged in secular healing. There are no herbalists resident in Obo, but some of the mediums possessed by Obo spirits are also skilled in the use of herbs. One Obo woman living in a satellite village is well known for curing boils (using the sap found in banana tree stems) and her compound usually always has patients staying there for treatment. One dusini (herbalist) from northern Nigeria walks a trade circuit around Kwawu, mostly going to Obo and Obo villages. He is usually to be found in Obo on Akwasidae or during large funerals, walking along with his box of herbal preparations belanced on his head, smiling, singing, and greeting people. He is best known for his penis-strengthening medicine.

Obo priests and priestesses collect some of their medicines from the forest, but also buy herbs, charms (e.g., cowrie shells), and rings from goldsmiths, itinerant herbalists, or herbal markets in Accra or the smaller towns. Many people know the use of some herbs such as the root of pawpaw to cure whitlow (also to induce abortion), cotton leaves to stop stomach pain, and odwen leaves to treat insect stings.

Twumasi argued that, "Traditional medicine utilized medical herbs, but the potentiality of herbal treatment was sought in terms of the powers of the spiritual world," (Twumasi 1975:25), but it must be made clear that the professionals distinguished between eduru = medicine (secular) and suman = power (spiritual medicine), although they may have sometimes dealt with both simultaneously.

The belief in supernatural causes does not prevent people from going to a hospital to cure the medical side of the problem. Twumasi argued, however, that this leaves the traditional healers the leftovers, treatment of psychological disorders, and placebo treatment of hypochondriacs

(Twumasi 1975:32). Twumasi later predicted that traditional medicine will survive in the area of mental illness (op. cit., p. 134), although it must be pointed out that people suffering from severe psychoses are beyond the scope of cures from mediums of local deities. "It is the will of the gods." Thus people classed as insane are tolerated, often fed as a form of charity or respect for the spirits which may be responsible, but not treated by traditional healers.

There are two outlets for scientific medicine which are alternatives to the professional help described above. These are the hospitals (and outstation clinics) and the dispensers (pharmacists). Although there is no hospital in Obo, there is now a clinic which is an outstation of the government hospital at Atibie. Until 1973 the Seventh Day Adventists ran the Atibie hospital, and the Obo chief negotiated with them, patronizing and assisting them in their envangelical programme to establish an S.D.A. congregation in Obo. Money was obtained by donations at "harvests" where Obo migrants ostentatiously contributed to hometown development. Shortly after the S.D.A. handed over hospital management, the clinic was opened in Obo. It is staffed by government nurses and visited weekly by a doctor. Alternatives outside Obo include the Atibie hospital, the Roman Catholic hospital at Nkawkaw, its outstation at Kwawu Tafo, and the hospital at Agogo in Asante Akyem. There are also two dispensers, licensed pharmacists who live in Obo where they sell prescription drugs. Aspirin, codeine, chloroquine, penicillin, and the like are available at small shops. Obo migrants in Accra and elsewhere have access to medical facilities in host locations.

Although for some analytical purposes all these sources of medical help can be classified into traditional and modern, they are all contemporary. They constitute a single medical system within a single community, during a single time period. Medical facilities and commercial

drugs are not necessarily seen as alternatives to the so-called traditional means of seeking wellbeing. They complement each other. Medicine can cure disease but it does not root out the spiritual evil or magic that is thought to bring it about. When a patient feels the spiritual evil is purged, he feels more assured of getting better, and the resultant optimism contributes to a speedy recovery. There is no contradiction then of even an okomfo or obosomfo going to hospital for treatment, or to a maternity clinic to give birth. One Obo priestess (when I gave her a lift to the Catholic hospital) explained that different groups have different functions. She and her followers go to the hospital to have children, but even Catholics come to her to get pregnant (P.B. field notes 1972). The functions are complementary.

To complete a description of wellbeing, it remains to examine the relationship between migration and medicine. There is a multiple interface between the wellbeing of the Obo community (and institutions designed to promote it) and the dynamics of cyclical migration. Preventive medicine includes the building of pipes for water (community health). Preventive mechanisms also include prayers and regular rituals of purifications, cleansing, and fortifications against evil. These bring Obo migrants back to the hometown and are carried out by Obo migrants in host locations. Curative medicine includes cleansing of polluted souls, reintegrating harmonious relations between various spirits and each individual, seeking herbal and commercial medicines, and attending clinic. These also bring migrants to Obo. Health, in its widest sense, is a popular topic of information relayed around the communication network of the dispersed community. The dispersed community resembles any sedentary community in that its people are interested in the wellbeing of the community and its members; but it differs in that it is extended by migration into host locations where members reside.

We now turn to the examination of events which bring these dispersed members back to the hometown.

Ritual: (a) Time and Events

Faced with a continuous unpredictable future, people observed regularities in their past and used them as a basis of dividing time into segments among which different activities could be allocated. Some social scientists have classified such segments into sacred (e.g., holy day) and profane (e.g., feria day) categories, and others were interested in observing the rituals assigned to those time segments. Here, however, the objective is to briefly describe the Akan calendar noting how it is used by the dispersed Obo community; bringing certain members of the community together at predictable intervals in order to maintain continuity in its structure and organization. Although Obo people live most of their lives away from Obo (in many places), certain rituals, performed at specified times in that calendar, are responsible for that continuity. The dichotomy of time segments used by the Obo community need not be seen as "sacred" - "profane," but should be seen as a distinction between "dabone" (evil day) and "dapaa" (good day). That distinction can be seen to represent the dichotomy "home" - "away", and the dichotomy "play" - "work", both of which are related to migration and social organization.

The key to understanding the Akan calendar is what Obo people call "forty days;" adaduanan (da = day, aduanan = 40). Close examination reveals forty-two different days in the cycle, the forty-third day being named the same as the first. The use of "forty days" is a convenient expression for what should more precisely be called a forty-two day cycle. Within the adaduanan cycle are four dabone (evil days), each immediately preceded by a dapaa (good day). The remaining thirty-four days are not universally classed as good or bad, but, being ordinary, are generally thought of as good. Individuals and deities also observe different days

on the adaduanan cycle as being personally dabone to themselves.

The forty-two day cycle appears to be a synthesis of a seven-day week superimposed upon an earlier six-day week. The six-day week, called nnanson (seven days) is still observed in some extant northern Guan communities such as the Nchumuru (Lumsden 1974), but no longer observed in the more "Akanized" Guan communities of the south. The seven-day week, called nnawotwe (eight days) appears to have been introduced from the north, but it is not possible yet to attribute its ultimate origin to the middle east. Nnawotwe is not an eight-day week. When the Akan count their week, the first day is the present one and the last day has the same name as the first. The nnawotwe week was added to the nnanson week. If each of the six days of nnanson is combined with each of the seven days of the nnawotwe week, a total of forty-two combinations result. Thus the adaduanan has forty-two days.

Each of the six days of the nnanson has a name, and each is said to have a different characteristic. What those various characteristics are appear to vary from informant to informant. My information comes from two elderly Obo informants, one an okomfo. Mono is often seen as the first or starting day, and related to freshness, innocence, and naivety. Fo is thought of as a judgement or sentencing day, and is also related to growth if not fertility. Nwuna is called the hidden, secret, or shielded day, and is related to sleep, death, and funerals. Nkyi is also a secret day, but in a different context, meaning behind, hidden, "tabood", or proscribed (hated), and related to pollution and destruction. Kuru is an exalted or paramount day implying political meaning, "just for nothing" or "without power" (like a slave or servant) and is related to freedom and lack of authority and responsibility. Persons born on each of these days are said to have an affinity to each other, and a destiny related to the day characteristics. Few young Obo people know of the existence of

the six-day week or of its significance in the adaduanan, but elders and priests are familiar with it and use it when discussing characteristics of persons or events.

In contrast to the six-day week, the seven days of the nnawotwe are known by everyone and are freely translated into the days of the European week. In both the seven and six-day weeks, the characteristics of each day are stamped on the destiny of each person born on that day. Obo elders say that formerly each person would consider his kra day (birthday on the nnawotwe cycle) so important that he would call it his personal dabone or "evil" day. If he would afford it, he would not go to work on his kra day, but sacrifice an egg and some alcohol (palm wine) to his kra. For example, if he was Kofi, born on a Friday, he would seek to discover which of the six Fridays in the adaduanan cycle he was born on, and call that his dabone. The importance of the week-day in this view of time is so important that sacred oaths commemorating ancient disasters, and sworn only when opening the most serious cases, often consist of only two words, one of which may be the name of a week-day.

All Akan people are named according to the day on the nnawotwe cycle on which they were born. They are said to bear resemblances and share affinity to all others born on the same kra day. Akwasi is the spirit of Sunday (males named Kwasi, females Akosua) and appears to be associated with beginnings. Dwo is the spirit or essence of Monday (females named Adwoa, males Kwadwo) and is associated with peace, quiet, and calm. Bena is the essence of Tuesday (males Kwabena, females Abena) and is the kra day of the ocean. Wukuo is the essence or spirit of Wednesday (females Akua, males Kwaku). Ya is the essence of Thursday (males named Yaw or Kwaw, females Yaa) and is the kra day of mother earth (nature).[14] Afi is

14. Obo informants mentioned the belief in Fante areas that Friday is the birthday of Asaase, the earth. Mends (1968:157) reports that in

the spirit of Friday (females Afua, males Kofi) and associated with fertility (as pagan Europeans associated it with love and sex). Mene is the essence of Saturday (males called Kwame, females Ama), the kra day of God, and associated with power. The division of time into regular cycles not only reinforces the cyclical view of the universe, but also aids in dealing with an unknown future.

None of the days of either the six or seven-day week are dabone or dapaa in themselves, but certain combinations that occur in the synthesized 42-day cycle, adaduanan, are dabone. The complete cycle is as follows:

(1)	Fo-dwo	(15)	Nkyi-dwo	(29)	Kwa-dwo
	Nwuna-bena		Kuru-bena		Mono-bena
	Nkyi-wukuo		Kwa-wukuo		Fo-wukuo
	Kuru-ya		Mono-ya		Nwuna-ya
	Kwa-fi		Fo-fi		Nkyi-fi
	Mono-mene		Nwuna-mene		Kuru-mene
	Fo-kwasi		Nkyi-kwasi		Kwa-kwasi
(8)	Nwuna-dwo	(22)	Kuru-dwo	(36)	Mono-dwo
	Nkyi-bena		Kwa-bena		Fo-bena
	Kuru-wukuo		Mono-wukuo		Nwuna-wukuo
	Kwa-ya		Fo-ya		Nkyi-ya
	Mono-fi		Nwuna-fi		Kuru-fi
	Fo-mene		Nkyi-mene		Kwa-mene
	Nwuna-kwasi		Kuru-kwasi		Mono-kwasi

There are two kinds of dabone: (I) When Fo of the six-day week meets with a Monday or a Friday, Fodwo and Fofi are celebrated. These are observed more frequently by the tutelary spirits, the rivers, and are important in annual first yam-eating rituals. (II) When Kuru of the six-day week meets with a Wednesday or a Sunday, Kuru-wukuo (called Wukuadae) and Kuru-Kwasi (called Akwasidae) are celebrated. These are more important in ancestor worship; i.e., the adae rite often said to mean "da = sleep, ye = well," a time of peace for the ghosts. The most important

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Anomabu, the name Asaase Yaa (Thursday) is used rather than Asaase Afua (Friday).

"good" days are those preceding adae days: Benada adapa before Wukudae and Memenada adapa before Akwasidae.

There are less than nine complete adaduanan cycles in a year (42 x 8 = 336, 42 x 9 = 376) so any day of the cycle does not occur on the same day each year. Annual rites, such as Odwira (ablution) or Afahwe (festivity) related to first yam-eating rituals, are celebrated at slightly different times each year, the gods (and ancestors) consulted to determine (by tasting the yam) which cycle to use each year. Various 42-day cycles in the year were given various appellations in different areas, and of course they varied in number. Opepon (Ope = harmattan, pon = supreme), for example, roughly corresponded to the cycle appearing around January or February in the height of the dry season. Some of those names have been arbitrarily applied as translations into the English used for the Roman calendar. Opepon, however, is not the same as January (a 31-day month, not a 42-day cycle) named after the pagan two-headed god Janus facing the new and old year. The new year was rather celebrated at yam harvest time around September near the end of the rainy season. The 28-day month or bosome was known, and noted, but not deemed as important as the 42-day adaduanan. The use of adaduanan cycle names to apply to the Roman calendar appears to be due to the efforts of Christian scholars educated in Akwapem by Basle evangelists.

As well as the standard four dabone, certain days are celebrated by the various deities. The chief god of Kwawu, Burukung, celebrates Kwadwo, the day following Akwasidae; the Obo satellite villages each celebrate certain days in the adaduanan cycle according to the god of the river which drains each respective village lands. The Akonedi god of Larteh has an Obo priestess who celebrates Nkyi-mene or Memenada adapa, the day preceding Akwasidae, whether she is in Obo at the time or in an Obo satellite village where she farms. Fofi Akroma, the second most

important Obo god celebrates Fo-fi, and the stool god, Tano, celebrates certain days between Fo-fi and Akwasidae. All of these celebrations serve to regularly bring back certain local farm migrants to their home-towns and villages.

The dabone most important for maintaining the political structure of the extended Obo community is the adae. Both the adae are observed, but of the two, the Sunday adae (Akwasidae) is more important in terms of urban migration. The rituals observed on adae have been described by Rattray (1923:92 ff.). There are differences between what Rattray has written and what I have observed in Obo, but that discussion must be left to a proposed article, as the prime concern here is to note the importance to migration, and the function of adae in holding the dispersed community together. Only a brief description will be given. As the Obo household survey shows, there is a large urban element in migrants identifying with Obo, and trade is an important occupation. Where distance and urban responsibilities require the curtailing of some traditional rites, it is understandable that the Wednesday adae, in the middle of the work week, becomes de-emphasized. Whatever the reason, Akwasidae is the most important day of the adaduanan in maintaining continuity of Obo politics in spite of Obo migration.

Most of the Obo elders and other participants arrive in Obo on Memenada adapa, the Saturday preceding Akwasidae. Some very aged elders who are too old to leave Obo, and the chief who is supposed to always stay in Obo (though he makes occasional trips to supervise his business interests) are already in Obo. The Obo Kuruntehene who operates a hardware kiosk in Accra keeps it open on the Saturday and takes the night train to Nkawkaw, often arriving in Obo after the adae rites have begun. About 3:30 to 4:00 a.m. the linguists gather to go as a group to their respective stool rooms to pour libations on their lineage black stools and

black linguists' sticks. Then the drummers assemble in the outer courtyard of the Obohene's palace and the linguists and elders wait until the Obohene rises, pours a private libation, then calls the Akunwasuafo (stool carriers) to make the black stool (Asiama) ready. Most people then gather in the third courtyard while a select few of the elders, linguists, stool carriers, and royals go into the fourth or inner courtyard. The Okyeamehene or chief linguist pours a libation on the black stool that was taken from its cupboard and held by the stool carriers while the chief and elders sit in state, arranged in a horseshoe formation, the chief facing away from the stool. Then they all go back to the third courtyard and sit in the same horseshoe formation while the stool carriers replace the black stool. The elders are then sitting in state, ready to hear news, complaints, and gossip of events affecting the dispersed community during the preceding six weeks. The function of adae most important to migration is then ready to begin.

All court cases (asem) that must be dealt with by the court of the Obohene and his elders are discussed after the black stool rites are completed. This occurs approximately at daybreak, six a.m. Any small cases, divorce, inheritance, adultery, and any dispute involving a conflict of interest, may be introduced to the court. A few simple cases may be settled then, but the major function is to use the time to allocate a further convenient time during the coming adaduanan when the principals and necessary elders can gather to settle each case. No news of death may reach the ears of a chief on an adae, but arrangements for funerals and memorial services can be made by speaking in circumlocution and euphemism. Twins that have been outdoored are brought to court. Any new komfo who have completed training are presented. Anthropologists seeking permission to do ethnography are introduced. In short, all cases (disputes or otherwise) that affect the community are presented to

the court, and the time used to make necessary arrangements to deal with them as the court sees fit. The adae does not bring back all dispersed migrants, only elders representing their respective lineages which confederated to form the town, servants necessary to perform the rituals and etiquette of the court, and those people whose interests are being presented to the court that particular Akwasidae. Thus the adae is a mechanism for bringing together Obo leaders as representatives of the dispersed community, in order to make decisions affecting the community.

After all the cases are dealt with in the court, by about eight or nine a.m., the court adjourns. That may end the formal procedure of the adae, but not its functions. The regularity of coming to Obo for adae brings certain Obo people together, and that further aids the cohesiveness of the dispersed community. As well as the chief linguist, the Obohene has six linguists, a convenient number. They gather each Akwasidae to decide who among them shall be allocated each week of the coming adaduanan to stay in Obo and act as the chief's linguist for that week, for the Obohene must always have a linguist available for any formal occasion that may arise. Heads of each lineage go to their respective stool houses and pour libations on their own black stools and settle their own lineage affairs, in foreshortened versions of the adae rites and formalities of the Obo chief. Some large lineages, such as the Asona lineage of the Obo Gyaasewahene who adopted me as a lineage member, chose every second or third Akwasidae to call back all adult members of their dispersed lineage to meet and discuss lineage affairs. Other lineages, such as that of the Kontihene are less formal, but two or three older members of the lineage usually gather at the stool house each Akwasidae. Wealthy migrants who have built houses in Obo invite the chief and elders to the outdooring of each new house, and sheep are slaughtered and libations poured during the festivities held at such outdoorings.

Occasionally priests of the various tutelary spirits have Agoro (play) festivities. Congregations of the various Christian sects have commemorations of new buildings, new preachers, or anniversaries, and these are held on some Akwasidae. The Obohene and his elders are always invited. The Obo Youth Association, smaller volunteer associations, and church groups, all hold fund-raising harvests where money is donated by migrants, often by "buying" donated goods for outrageous prices; the money used to build respective churches and schools or for the Obo development committee. The Obo development committee itself meets every Memenada adapa evening prior to an Akwasidae. Occasionally the chief and elders will hold a small Afahye (festival) with drumming and dancing out on the Ohantrase public square, inviting all the church groups, or all the traditional cults to attend and participate in the singing, dancing, and drumming. The adae rites, primarily libations of food and alcohol to the ancestors is the mechanism of expressing ancestor worship, but important to the cohesiveness of the dispersed community because they bring back key personnel to the hometown at regular intervals. The communication and interaction between visiting migrants, outside of the participation in the rites, are functional in maintaining the organization of a community that is usually spatially dispersed by migration.

Reference was made to annual celebrations and the adaduanan cycle. Traditional annual rites, particularly those related to first yam-eating rites, in Obo, are localized events and do not involve the whole community. Each of the lineages in Obo, and each of the rivers, celebrate an Odwira (ablution) ritual once a year as each respective god eats the first yam of the season, around September when the new yams are ready. The Tano god of the Obo stool then holds a yam-eating rite, the Obohene attending to be ritually washed in water mixed with white medicines, then given a small yam by the Tano priestess. All the komfo or

priests and priestesses of Obo deities, rivers, and cults, are expected to attend. Often the Obohene chooses to hold an Afahwe (festivity) in Ohantrase on the Akwasidae immediately following the adaduanan during which the first yams are eaten by the Obo gods on their respective days.

Up to 1874 when Kwawu left the Asante empire, the Obohene and his elders, like the other Kwawu chiefs, all journeyed to Kumasi for the Odwira of the Asantehene, showing their allegiance to the empire and settling cases in a much more formal and complex manner than the present Akwasidae meetings. This has been mentioned by Wilks (1975:121-389), who analyzed the political function. Cases were settled in Kumasi and on one such occasion one Obohene must have lost a case because he never returned to Obo. After Kwawu declared independence from Asante in 1876, the chiefs no longer attended the Kumasi Odwira, although Obo informants reckon that pro-Asante Obo royals covertly went to Kumasi after 1876. As the large annual Kumasi Odwira functioned to hold together the dispersed Asante empire, so the smaller, every forty-third day, Akwasidae functions to hold together the Obo community dispersed by cyclical labour migration.

Coinciding with the decline in Asante power and increase of European influence in Kwawu, the Kumasi-based annual Odwira rite disappeared, while Easter assumed paramount importance as an annual event. Whereas among European societies, with a tradition of mid-winter fertility solstice rites, the Christian celebration of Christmas brings people home to their families, in Kwawu, with a tradition of ancestor worship, the Christian celebration of Easter brings the largest number of migrants into the hometown at any one time of the year. Odwira rites have been relegated to their original local observations by lineages and local deities. The importance of death, mourning, and resurrection in the

Christian Easter ritual should not be overlooked when asking about its prominence as an annual rite in Kwawu. The frequency with which Easter occurs on an Akwasidae (approximately every two out of three years) must also not be overlooked.

In contrast to Akwasidae, which primarily brings back elders and people involved in politics and dispute settlements, the annual Easter rite brings home many young adults who wish to recreate, recuperate, procreate, and celebrate.[15] Although funeral cloths are frequently worn on Easter Friday and sometimes Saturday, Easter Sunday sees everyone dressed in their finest. In all the bars and hotels in Kwawu, dances are held nightly with popular bands brought from all over Ghana. Large fund-raising events are held Easter Sunday. Congregations of all the Obo churches gather to celebrate, often going in official visiting groups or choirs to each other's churches. In contrast to Akwasidae, the young urban sophisticated element is prominent when Obo fills up for Easter. Migrants meet potential spouses and temporary conjugal unions are contracted, many with a view to more permanent unions later.

It is a time for successful migrants to return home and display the finest clothes they could afford to buy, and to buy drinks for their friends and kinsmen not seen for so long. Businessmen use the time to entertain and reinforce old business contacts and make new ones, as many Obo migrants bring guests. Many Obo migrants have told me that because of the expectations of expensive display of wealth, they cannot afford to go to their hometown frequently during the early part of their

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15. Mate selection, difficult while the community is dispersed, is facilitated by Easter. "This is the time for marriages, when people return home after a long absence; but these marriages made in haste do not usually last," (Ansong 1959:114). Some last three days. The large number of Obo births around Christmas coincides with the nine-month gestation period after Easter.

migrant working career. Although Easter brings the most Obo migrants back to the hometown at any one time, many more who cannot afford to come remain Obo people but don't return every Easter.

These constitute the regular and predictable events and rituals which serve to hold the dispersed community together. We now turn to more irregular, if no less inevitable, rituals that also function to maintain the continuity of the community.

Ritual: (b) Rites of Passage

We noted that time is made more predictable by the human creation of cycles such as weeks, months, adaduanan, and years. As shown above, that predictability functions in the regulation of certain hometown visits that maintain the cohesiveness and structure of the extended community. Other events, also important in migration and social organization, cannot be predicted in the same way. They are events like death and birth, and the recognition of changes in life cycle stages which are essential to the structure of a community extended by cyclical migration. They occur unpredictably at different times for different individuals. Recognitions of status changes include rites connected with birth, puberty, marriage, enstoolment, and death.

Funerals attract migrants according to how closely related they are to the deceased and to the rank and popularity of the deceased. The other rites of passage attract far fewer migrants and, although they are important in individual life cycles and migration careers, do not serve in the same way as to bring large numbers of migrants back to the hometown to visit. They function in the social recognition of stages in migrant life cycles. These rites and their importance to migration will be discussed in the order that they usually occur in each person's lifetime.

Birth is a biological event, an addition to a species characterized

by mortality. As a social event, it is seen as a migration, an "arrival." Birth is valued; people are highly regarded if they have numerous children. The attitude was functional in an agrarian past but zero population growth is still a heresy in Obo. Costs of educating children are often cited as a reason to limit the birth rate, and national family planning clinics offer encouragement, advice, and devices, and these contribute to increased birth control. Yet Obo people still want children. Where a woman fifty years ago may have hoped to bear a dozen children, she may now want four or five.

Childless couples are derided, and more respect is given to those who bear children. When other factors are the same, the funeral for someone who died with many progeny is more elaborate than for one who died with none. Barren women are miserable and their unhappiness is exacerbated by suspicion that through their jealousy they will become witches. It is commonly feared that a (barren) stranger would steal a child to take to her hometown, claiming the child as her own. Children are desired, thus steps are taken to obtain them when they are not immediately forthcoming.

When a woman who wants a child does not get pregnant, she consults the professionals. Because the topic is of widespread interest, the abilities of fertility practitioners are frequently discussed. When one gets a reputation for being able to make barren fertile, the news spreads quickly. Friendship and kinship networks that span the extended community operate in communicating advice and suggestions to women seeking pregnancy. Migrants, when they get together with fellow migrants in the hometown or in host location meetings, pass on the word about practitioners who may be located anywhere migrants may have gone. A barren woman frequently seeks help from numerous agents and not immediately satisfied goes from one to another; a mission hospital, an akomfo

(possessed one) of a local deity, a syncretic (spiritualist or prophetic) church, and so on. This she may do if she seeks a first child or if a subsequent child does not appear when wanted.

The "migration" of a child to the land of the living is seen as a vague, semi-contradictory process. On one hand a child is created by the union of the nton of the mother with the ntoro of the father at conception, and given its kra at birth. Each of the three are kinds of "souls" but with different meanings than the English word "soul." They must all come together to form a child. On the other hand, the desired child is thought of as someone already living in Asamando, the land of the dead. Were it to be born here in Awiase it would be mourned as a loss in Asamando. Thus there are forces in the supernatural who would seek to prevent it being born (migrating to Awiase), or, later, who would seek to pull it back (to Asamando).[16]

If a woman seeks assistance from an okomfo she may be given a wooden aku a ba doll to strap to her back. The doll will attract from Asamando a child who would like to be cared for like the doll. The dolls, about 8 cm. to 12 cm. tall, are stylized, having high foreheads, round faces, disc-shaped heads, and long necks accented with neck rings symbolizing even longer necks. More care is given to the style of the head, which is also large in proportion to the rest of the figure. Like the clay

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16. A child dying in childbirth, or before being named, is called okoba - roughly meaning come-go-child. The body is put in a pot in the rubbish heaps, and the parents wear white, signifying joy that such a despicable person has departed. It is interesting to note that Basle catechist Boateng, in spite of his theological training which would deny this kind of reincarnation, used the notion of "oko bae (a child who is died and come back again)." In Boateng's words, "... this name bears witness that our ancestors have the meaning all men of the world will die and rise up again into another world whether their former country or any other country." He then wrote of preaching in Kwawu that the people give food and drink to the dead, signifying their belief in reincarnation. He used that to explain that all men will rise up again, (Boateng 1884, photo copy in Jenkins 1970:box).

sampon used at the other end of the life course, the wooden aku a ba dolls are usually black, the colour associated with time, immortality, and power.

Official Christian dogma of the missionary churches does not approve of women seeking help from mediums of tutelar deities. The hospitals offer assistance where possible by treating venereal diseases and other medical barriers to pregnancy, while the churches offer prayer for fertility. These efforts are not always seen to be adequate, so barren women, being pragmatic, do not often allow Christian antipathy to the local gods to stop them from shopping around. The network of kin and friends in the extended community is useful here so Christian women seeking help from traditional spirits may go to a host location where they are not known and, through the brokerage of a trusted confidant, consult a local god. I have observed Christian women visiting akomfo seeking advice and offering gifts of thanks to the god for giving a child. Two Catholics confided in me that they had hedged in this way. They went to the mission at Nkawkaw to seek medical advice and to ask the nuns to pray for them. Later they sought local help from deities outside Obo and its satellites. They both became enciente, one for the first time, the other for a third time, but the first time with her current husband. Although they were obliged and thankful to the respective deities, they remained active Catholics. I heard numerous similar stories about women of other Christian denominations.

Male barrenness is also scorned, though it is less frequently detected. In early days, a married man who did not impregnate his wife was sent messages from her abusua, requesting that he do so. Failing that, a day would be chosen for his ridicule, often on an adae when many people were in town. The man would be caught, slapped, and decorated with food, plantain leaves, nettles (nsasono), and a cat's skin. He

would be installed as Krawahene (Krawa = impotent man, ohene = chief), given a toy wooden sword, and made to swear an oath to all older men with numerous progeny that he would father children. From then on until he fathered a child he would be teased and given his food in kyemfere (broken pottery). He would be given less food with the remark that food would make him too sleepy at night to engage in intercourse.

Now this is not done in Obo, though people gossip, and women seek divorce from men when they do not produce children. An old man I met in Obo complained that he was a krawa, but the elders merely patronized him with kindness and pity, saying that he should be patient and accept his fate. Other men are rumoured to be barren, but after building fine houses for their wives, and giving them cloth and other gifts, the women did not seek divorce. Some men would give tacit approval to discreet adultery. Because of duolocal residence, and considerable mobility and visiting within the extended community, this could be done with little embarrassment. Male barrenness is thus relatively easy to disguise and the krawa ceremony was seldom performed, even in the past.

Female barrenness is not as easy to disguise as male barrenness. Adoption is more visible and seldom done, while child theft is dangerous. It might be expected then that barren women would be more likely than others to migrate to the city to practise prostitution. The hypothesis was not overtly tested in the Obo study, but some contradictory observations indicate caution in assuming this. Barren Obo women were recorded resident in Obo and Obo satellites. The lives of older barren women were difficult compared to their fertile offspring. Although they had no adult children to send them gifts, they did receive food and cloth by sisters, offspring of sisters, and other kinsmen. Often they were feared as potential witches and the gifts were intended to mollify them and encourage them to refrain from harming kinsmen because of their

jealousy. In contrast, all Obo prostitutes I interviewed had children. They were seen by Obo residents as the same as other migrant Obo businesswomen; however, they went to Lomé or Abidjan rather than to Accra. Like other migrant traders, they returned to Obo for rituals described here, and left their children with relatives in the hometown or satellites. Thus the variables, prostitution and barrenness, cannot be seen as directly related.

In spite of the importance attached to childbirth, the occasion of birth is not one which attracts numerous migrants from the extended community. The "arrival" of an individual to awiase is not such an occasion for congregation as is his "departure." During her pregnancy a man is forbidden to divorce or beat his wife. Prior to giving birth, an encient woman wears old cloths to avoid attracting the attention of supernatural forces, deities or witches, benign or malevolent, who may wish to keep the child from migrating to Awiase. Shortly before birth, the woman collects baha (dried plantain leaves) to deliver on, and nnwa wento (broken snail shells) to use in cutting the cord. From a herbalist, priest, or older member of her abusua, she obtains a herb called abeduru (palm medicine) which she eats daily in palm nut soup. If the woman lives in a host location she usually goes home to deliver to her mother or mother's sisters or the closest living relatives in her abusua. She may spend up to a month or more with these matrilineal relatives in the hometown or one of the larger satellite villages. She may take antenatal instruction at a nearby clinic.

The child may be delivered at home or at a clinic or hospital. At home this is done in a woman's compound, and birth must not take place in a house with stools or a god, for like menstruation, birth is thought of as an unclean situation. No males are permitted to be present. Two

or more older matrilineal relatives attend, one standing behind her as she squats on the baha, the other in front to receive the child. In contrast, the Catholic hospital in Nkawkaw, and its outstation clinics, use beds to deliver on while the government (formerly Seventh Day Adventist) hospital compromises with parturition saddles. Although I obtained permission to witness a birth at the hospital, it is rare for males to be present and, unless a male doctor is called in difficult cases, birth is attended by midwives.

If the labour and delivery are difficult, the woman is told to "show it to the sun." She is suspected of not having observed all her husband's ntoro proscriptions during the pregnancy, so his ntoro is placated by cleansing her torso with lime juice and a promise made to give a gift to the ntoro if the child is safely delivered. If the difficulty continues, the woman is suspected of offending and polluting her husband's ntoro by having adulterous intercourse during the pregnancy; she is made to confess and name her lover so as to pacify the ntoro. If the woman dies during childbirth she is despised, her death seen as a cowardly act worse than suicide, for she kills the child while she should be doing her most honourable duty of bringing forth. Like other otofo (bad death) corpses, hers was thrown in the bush where other pregnant women come to hurl abuse, spit, and epithets while pointing plantain leaves at her. Nowadays the corpse is put in a box and buried with minimal ceremony, while the shameful nature of her death is hidden or softened by euphemistic circumlocution. Because of the importance people put on their own expected funerals, a shameful burial of an otofo is feared, and this fear is thought to be a motivating force in encouraging successful childbirth.

When the child "arrives," the midwife slaps it to give it its first breath, congratulates the new mother, and says to the child, "Wo ba a,

tena ase (If you have come, then sit)." The idea of sitting implies staying for, whereas the "arrival" of the child is sought, his "departure" (death) is deplored. Stillbirths are thought of as the work of witches conceived of as jealous, barren matrilineal relatives, while okoba (go-come children) are fickle souls who are tempted back to the underworld after causing the nuisance of pregnancy and childbirth. They die shortly after birth and "return" to Asamando. Thus the midwife tells the newborn to sit.

Then the placenta is touched on the chin or lip of the child so that it will learn to keep secrets, and lime juice is put on the same place to enourage it to speak clearly. The mother and child are then washed, cleansing seen as a spiritual ablution following any rite of passage. The two are kept in seclusion for a week, while the mother is fed eto (mashed yam and palm oil), a food savoured by ancestors, toothless elders, and convalescents. The baha is used as a post-natal sanitary pad and to wrap the baby. Bracelets, around the arms, waist, neck, and legs of the child are made from the same material. Mother and child are dressed poorly in the delicate time of the first weeks, so as to avoid attracting those supernatural powers that may entice them to migrate back to the land of the dead.

After the eighth day (by European reckoning it is after seven days have passed), all the kra days have looked on the child. It is only then that it is considered a human being or nnipa (good eyes or good face). If it dies in the first week, its face is mutilated (the antithesis of nnipa) and the corpse spat upon and abused as an okoba. It is placed in a kuku (pot) with prickles to make it uncomfortable and discourage it from returning to trouble the people again. Forced migration: it is banished. The name kukuba (pot child) is an abusive epithet used to insult the corpse of a krawa who, like the "useless" okoba, died

before producing offspring. If the child was deformed (e.g., having six fingers), it was quietly strangled by the midwife and treated as an okoba. The mission hospitals are blamed now for allowing such "abominations" to survive; people say six-fingered beggars in the cities were not seen before the Europeans came to enforce their alien notions.

On the eighth day, ntetea is performed. If the father is near he may present the new "arrival" with gifts. The baha fibre armlets and leglets are removed. The child and mother are washed and dressed in fine clothes. The child is placed on a new mat purchased by the father, next to the aku a ba if available. The mother and child are smeared with white clay or powder to signify innocence, purity, and victory. The father is informed by an official of the mother's abusua. The father presents an egg and a chicken to the midwife. He presents three bananas to the child and if the child is male may fire three musket shots from the gate of the compound. The mother may then put the child on her back for the first time and goes around the village or town thanking the people for their support and prayers. People come to give congratulations, and then the notion of migration is further expressed by their greeting. They hold three fingers of the child's right hand calling him by his kra (day) name, then:

> Wo tirimu nkwa, oo,
> Wo aba a, tena ase, oo,
> Mmekyere few na nko, oo.
> Wunim awo. Wo ba ho ye fe.
>
> Congratulations (may your head thrive), oh,
> If you have come then stay (sit) here, oh,
> Don't come show your beauty to return again, oh,
> (To mother) You know how to give birth. Your child is beautiful.
>
> (P.B. Field Notes)

The mother is permitted to rest three months for the delivery of a boy, two for a girl. Often the father is at a host location at this time, so his part in the ritual is delayed for him to return, or his father or

paternal brother substitutes for him.

At that time, or subsequently, the father may name the baby. A child is named after any elder, living or dead, whom the father wishes to honour. There is no paternal, or matrilineal name, and the child does not take the father's name until it chooses to do so when it commences schooling. If the person after whom the child is named is dead, he is informed by libation. If the person is alive he may choose to give a gift to his namesake. The child is expected to have an affinity with and a resemblance to the person after whom he is named, and all others so named.

Although elaborate "outdooring" and naming ceremonies are not traditional, the Obo people who have migrated to Accra often imitate the Accra custom, sometimes hiring a bar or hotel and sending printed invitations when the parents are wealthy. The same does not occur in Obo or the satellite villages. Birth, naming, or outdooring are not occasions to return to the hometown, and usually only in the case of twins are new children presented on a Akwasidae to the Obo court of elders. Twins of the chief's abusua are sent in turn to Abetifi because the Obo chief is the "wife" of the Abetifi chief.

After "forty" (42) days, a maternal grandmother will sit the child up. A child cannot usually sit up by itself until five or six months, but the symbolic act of "sitting" him is thought to encourage him to stay (sit) rather than migrate back to Asamando. Some women get the reputation of giving luck to children that they "sit" after "forty" days, and are sought by their matrilineal descendants to "sit" their children.

Sometime, between ten and fourteen months, a child will take its first steps. The father presents it with an egg, a symbol of fertility, growth, and development. The father congratulates the child, "Wo tirimu

nkoa (May your head thrive)." Annual birthdays are not observed consistently, and the child's first day in school or first trip to the hometown are not treated with much ceremony. The child is expected to grow and learn until it reaches puberty, the girl at her first menses, the boy around twenty years.

Puberty rites are of minor significance in Obo, though they often mark an important migrant stage as the individual usually leaves the matrilineal home environment, hometown, or satellite, sometime after puberty. Obo people say that puberty rites for girls were more important before the arrival of Christianity and the schools. When a young woman passed her first menses her mother gave her an egg and then informed the Ohemma (queen). A day was then set for her "outdooring" as an adult. The night before the specified date, usually Fofie or a week before Akwasidae, seven (or so) of her girlfriends stayed the night with her. In the morning she was bathed, shaved, and dressed in her finest clothing. Her parents would give her eggs and, if possible, a sheep, kente cloth, and jewellery. She would sit in some public place, often under a tree, with her friends who would engage in drumming, dancing, and singing bawdy kyiri mra (menstrual taboo) songs. In the evening she would be bathed again by her friends. A week later, usually Akwasidae, she would be taken by her friends to a special place at the river where she would be bathed early in the morning. They would smear her with palm oil and ground egg shells (the mixture dries to resemble gold dust), dressed in "white" (any fine clothing, especially kente), and with her breasts bared to demonstrate her virginity (due to the belief that pre-puberty sex retards breast development), she would be paraded through the town (or village) to thank the people for their support and prayers. In this way her abusua advertised that she was available for marriage, and it was expected that they would soon receive suits leading

to marriage.

At present girls are usually still in school when they reach their first menstrual period. They are still given an egg on the occasion, and the Ohemma may be informed, but elaborate rites are foregone. Most girls wish to avoid marriage until completing their education so public recognition of their marital availability is avoided. An informant pointed out that the Christian confirmation ceremony, performed when girls are in or have completed their final (fourth) year of middle school, appears to have replaced the traditional rite. Following the church confirmation ceremony, the girl dresses in white and, accompanied by her friends, goes around the town to thank the people for their support and prayers. Her marriagability is thus implicitly proclaimed, and the townspeople often give her gifts of coins and fruit. Frequently, young women may move to a satellite village or town after the completion of these rites, although some are soon married and move according to the decisions of their husband. The puberty rite appears then to mark the end of an asexual childhood in the hometown, and to open the way for the new adult to migrate and engage in conjugal activities.

The change in status from boy to man was even less elaborate than female puberty rites. It occurred later, usually when the boy was older than twenty years, and the age difference resulted in more marriageable females than males, a ratio conducive to polygyny. A boy was declared a man by his father, who symbolized the event by providing the young man with a musket and a wife, combining puberty and marriage in the same rite. At present, guns are given to sons very rarely, and then usually by migrants to villages rather than those to the city. Young men also prefer to make their own conjugal arrangements, although they usually seek the approval of their parents. Young men who spend too many years in reckless batchelorhood are frequently harangued by their

fathers to marry and settle down. Often they cohabit with their girl-friends in host locations while presenting the image of batchelorhood to their parents. It would be tempting, although perhaps tenuous to see migration as a replacement for traditional male initiation rites as Schapera (1947) did for the bogwera ritual in Botswana. Young men there went to the city and their change in status to taxpaying adult made them more attractive to prospective wives. No such initiation rites are claimed as traditional by the Kwawu and manhood, marriage, and gun ownership merely coincided with migration to hunt, farm, or trade, long before the growth of cities and rural-urban migration. Puberty, adulthood, and marriage then, for the men, like the women, marks the migration from hometown to host location, but migration is not seen as any initiation rite.

Marriage rites are also seldom elaborate. Formerly, it is claimed parents chose spouses for their offspring, and cross-cousin marriages were preferred because they kept inheritable property within the male as well as female line (in alternating generations). Obo people say exogamy rules were more strict in the past; people of either the same nton or the same ntoro were prohibited from marrying. Now these rules are not strictly observed and I recorded numerous cases where husband and wife had the same nton (matriclan name) or received the same ntoro greeting.

As I described in an earlier paper (Bartle 1976), women tend to have more than one husband in succession. This more or less corresponds with a life course and cyclical migration pattern in which a migrant's identification with the hometown increases with age. Later marriages tend to be slightly more stable, and are more frequently fie waree (house marriages - the name given to cross-cousin marriage).

Where husbands and wives had the same nton (matriclan name), it was rationalized that the respective mbusua (matrilineages) came from different origins. Few people knew their own ntoro name, even though some knew their ntoro greeting, at the time of their first conjugal cohabitation or marriage, and where exogamy proscriptions are later discovered to be broken, they are overlooked and rationalized. Marriages contracted later in life tend more often to conform with clan and spirit exogamic rules, and are more frequently cross-cousin marriages. Marriages contracted by chiefs and elders who are more subject to public scrutiny, tend more to conform to the ideal, and where important offices (stools) and valuable resources (land, farms, and houses) are at stake, cross-cousin marriages and observance of exogamic rules are more frequently observed. In any case, lineage exogamy (in contrast to clan exogamy) where direct matrilineal lives of descent can be traced, is observed even by professed Christians. Most cross-cousin marriages were classificatory cross-cousin marriages rather than between first cousins. These rules still apply. Although the elders claim that young people have more choice than they did in the past, it is conceivable that the past may be glorified as the "good old days," whereas marriages were not as closely arranged by parents so much as manipulated by the prospective spouses, within certain parameters, as they are today.

Marriage rituals are performed by the fathers of the bride and groom. The groom's father presents tiri nsa (head wine) and a small sum of money to the bride's father who in turn presents a portion of it to the bride's wofa (maternal uncle or classificatory equivalent). A libation to the gods and ancestors is then poured with the wine, asking their blessings on the union, and the essentials of the rite are complete. Marriage is not performed by the wofa of the groom or bride, unless no father had claimed him or her at birth. The dichotomy of the

nton (female line) versus ntoro (male line) is extended to the division between political-economic versus moral-spiritual spheres and is demonstrated here, marriage clearly belonging to the latter category in contrast to descent which belongs to the former. The portion of tiri nsa and bride wealth given to the bride's wofa may be seen as a confirmation of the earlier marriage between the bride's mother and father, the bride being the result of the earlier union performed by her parents' fathers. Marriage, like other rites (except funerals) are and were not elaborate affairs, and may even be performed in the absence of bride or groom or both.[17]

Divorce, like marriage, is relatively simple, although separation is more frequent. Divorce rituals are often omitted or delayed until subsequent changes in status require some divorces to be completed. As Bleek (1975:203) showed for another Kwawu town, divorce is the rule rather than the exception; few marriages are permanent. Inability to produce children is the most frequently cited cause, although in-law and co-wife tension are also frequent factors. When the wife seeks divorce she or her abusua (or her father) repays the head wine, bride wealth, and

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17. A further indication of the difference in the roles of marriage and the conjugal family in matrilineal societies such as the Akan and bilateral societies such as in Europe, is the use of the terminology. "Ware" in Twi is usually translated as "to marry," but differs in use from the English verb. "To marry" a person means to undergo a ritual that changes the status of the subject (and spouse); that new status remains until another ritual (divorce) changes it back. "Ware," in contrast, is an active verb that indicates the carrying out of domestic, affectionate, and sexual obligations on the part of the subject. The subject can "stop marrying" (gya waree) (a phrase used in Pigeon English) at any time by not fulfilling those obligations, and then "start marrying again," (ware bio) by merely resuming those obligations. An Obo woman speaking English may say, "He stopped marrying me," or, "I stopped marrying him," implying a temporary disruption of harmonious relations which may later lead to formal divorce rituals. Marriage as an institution is a state in Western societies, but a process in Akan societies.

a small sum representing the profit the husband would have made had he invested his resources elsewhere. If the husband seeks divorce he pays gya kwan sika (send-off money) to the wife. The divorce is completed when the husband or his kinsman throws white powder at the feet of the wife. Such events frequently occurred in the courts of the Obo chief, or his elders, long after the couples had effectively separated. It was usually done when the woman sought remarriage, or the man or his successor wished to block inheritance claims.

A rite of passage occurring later in the lives of a few selected individuals, is enstoolment. Although it is politically important, it is fairly simple (though more complex than marriage) and attracts few migrants back home to participate (again, more than for birth, puberty, or marriage). When a stool becomes vacant as a result of death or destoolment of a chief or elder, the elders of the surviving abusua choose a replacement. Most candidates for the position come to the hometown for the funeral of the previous stool occupant, and the elders can observe their deportment.

During the interegnum the vacant stool or stools are controlled by responsible people who are not able to inherit them. Often they undergo a temporary mini-migration in the process:

> Two evenings after the death of the late Obo Gyaasewahene (2 December 1974) his stool was removed from its stool room in the Asona lineage house, by the Obo Kuruntehene, accompanied by the Obo Gyaasehene, a linguist, myself, and some elders. They first poured a libation to the stool and other stool paraphernalia in the Gyaasewahene's stool room, explaining that the stool would be the guest of the Kuruntehene's ancestors for a while. The stool was wrapped in a northern blanket and carried quickly, hidden in the folds of the Kuruntehene's cloth, to the stool room in the Aduana lineage house of the Kuruntehene. The Kuruntehene poured another libation in his stool room, asking his own ancestors to temporarily accept the visitor until the abusua of the deceased Gyaasewahene could choose a successor.
>
> (P.B. Field Notes 1974)

The Kuruntehene later explained that this had been done to help the abusua of the late Gyaasewahene. The bereaved abusua would be motivated to quickly come to a unanimous choice of a successor to this lucrative office, and in the meantime no pretender would steal the stool and claim to be the new Gyaasewahene. When the bereaved lineage elders were sure of a successor they informed the Kuruntehene in the Obo court, and the stool was returned so the new Gyaasewahene could be enstooled. Between the death of an Obo chief and the choice of a successor, the stools of the Obohene are similarly kept by the Obo Banmuhene who alone has the keys to the Obo chief's stool room.

The old men and women of the abusua of the deceased then meet to choose a successor from among potential candidates. They look among the membership in the abusua, beginning with brothers of the deceased, sisters' sons, mother's sisters' daughters' sons, sisters' daughters' sons, and among increasingly wider categories of matrilineal kinsmen. They look for strength of character, beauty, health, and so on. Preference is given to educated candidates and the abusua elders try to get successful lawyers, soldiers, policemen, civil servants, etc. whose literacy, skills, social contacts, and aggressiveness are desired so as to bring wealth, power, and prestige in the lineage. Such higher status candidates decline enstoolment in minor lineages, and it is only the more prestigious lineages, with numerous corporate sources of income, that can attract such candidates from among their descent group. The successor is called the wofase (maternal nephew) of the deceased whether he is a brother or far related matrilineal kinsman.

The elders of the Obo court ask the Oba Panyin (female elder) of the abusua if a replacement has been found for the office of the deceased. If the deceased were the Obohene they would ask it of the Ohemma (queen), who is the classifactory "mother" of the chief. The old woman names the

choice agreed to by her and the other elders of the lineage. If the elders of the Obo court agree to the choice a date is set, usually the subsequent Akwasidae, for his enstoolment. If they disagree they veto the choice and the woman returns to her abusua to find another choice. This is repeated until an acceptable successor is found. Representatives of the mmarante (youth) communicate their acceptance of the choice through the Obo Wirempehene. Then the chosen successor is "captured" and paraded through town on someone's shoulders. A short period of licence, usually the day preceding enstoolment, is set aside when anyone may hurl abuse and insults on the successor in anticipation of a future time when he may wish to do so, but because of the sacred nature of chiefs and elders would be forbidden to do so. The abusua asks for its stool, or the Banmuhene opens the stool room, and the stool room is prepared for the enstoolment.

There is a strict prohibition against enstooling someone physically disfigured, especially by circumcision. He must be inspected by the Ohemma or equivalent beldam of his lineage, and some elders, to see that he is complete.

If the abusua has numerous black stools, as in the case of that of the Obohene, he is blindfolded, led into the stool room, and told to choose a stool. He takes as his stool name that of his ancestor whose stool he chooses, and it is expected that he will take on the characteristics of the ancestor so chosen.

He is gently lowered three times onto the stool with his left and right elders on either side and the old woman at his back, but his whole weight does not press on it. His body is then considered sacred, and becomes the living shrine of his ancestors. He is given a large pair of Ohenema sandals to wear and forbidden from then on to touch the ground. From then the chief may not look at his stool, except in a very important

case (more important than one opened by an oath being sworn on the stool) such as one that might lead to his destoolment. Other Obo elders see their stools when they pour libations on them but the Okyeamehene pours the libation on the chief's stool. As a sacred object, the chief or elder may not fall or be struck; to do so would require the sacrifice of a sheep to mollify the ancestors. (In spite of this proscription I saw an important chief fall in the bush one day while inspecting his farm, but the incident was overlooked because it did not occur in public.) When a chief is destooled, the Kuruntehene asks him for his sandals, and when his feet touch the ground his body becomes secular again. After enstoolment, sheep are killed, libations are poured, and oaths sworn to and by superior and subordinate chiefs and elders, all pledging allegiance.

Details of enstoolment will be written in a planned paper, but this sketch is sufficient to indicate its role in migration and the organization of the extended community. When an Obo man or woman is enstooled as an elder, his trips to the hometown become more intense and numerous. The chief usually gives up his job if he is a civil servant or paid employee, for he is expected to sleep in Obo with his ancestors. Some important elders such as Gyaasehene and Gyaasewahene, both former policemen, also gave up their jobs, but do not stay only in Obo. The Kuruntehene continues to trade in Accra but spends about a third of his time in Obo. Elders, having more prestige and responsibilites than they did before enstoolment, spend more time in Obo at funerals and rites such as Akwasidae, although only the oldest among them, and the chief, permanently stay in Obo. The enstoolment ceremony is more elaborate and attracts more migrants to participate than any of the preceding rites of passage, but not as many as the final rites.

All of the rites of passage so far described, each signifying a stage of life and recognition of a change in status, are relatively minor in terms of involving the total extended community. They are important in cyclical migration as they mark the life cycle stages that correspond to cyclical migration and, as shown in the previous chapter, constitute the social organization of the dispersed community. Yet few migrants return to the hometown to participate. Birth recognition rites occur where the child is born often in a matrilineal setting, but that may be at one of the larger, more established satellite villages as much as in Obo. Or they may take place where the mother and father reside as migrants. Puberty rites, or their Christian confirmation replacement usually but do not necessarily occur in the hometown, and they are merely associated with migration and the development of conjugal relations, rather than accepted as a necessary prelude to migration. The absence of secret societies in Obo and other Akan communities prevents their discussion completely. Marriage, like puberty, is associated with host location residence rather than a necessary result or requirement. Enstoolment, although it occurs in the hometown, primarily concerns only the political leaders of Obo and the members of the respective abusua. Only in the case of enstoolment of the Obo chief does a rite formally require a migrant to return to hometown residence and enstoolment of elders is merely associated with increased hometown participation not a formal consequence or requirement. We now turn to a rite of passage that stands in distinct contrast to all the foregoing, the funeral.

While death takes the individual (in Akan cosmology) back to Asamando, his funeral brings his survivors back to the hometown. Funerals vary immensely in size and complexity, and the number of migrants who return, and thus the proportion of the extended community which

participates, is a function of the size and complexity. The higher the status, the greater the wealth and popularity of the deceased, and of the abusua of the deceased, the bigger the funeral. The nature, circumstances, or the cause of death are also important. The more shameful the circumstances of death, the less elaborate and ostentatious are the funerary rites.

The two ends of a spectrum of complexity might be represented as the funeral of a stillborn child and that of a chief. After the stillborn is mutilated to discourage it from "returning" it is buried in the rubbish heap by the tankase (town council labourers), and the parents are dressed in white (signifying joy and victory at having rid themselves of it) and served a meal to be eaten together. In contrast, the funeral of the Obohene is very elaborate and results in hometown visits of nearly all Obo migrants, either for the burial or subsequent memorial services.

The funeral rites of the late Obohene, Nana Kofi Bediako, who died in 1971, are not yet complete at the time of this writing (1977). The ban on firing muskets (for other funerals) in Obo and its satellites, between the burial and final rites, is still being observed. It is expected that most Obo migrants will return to Obo for the final rites. Announcements will be put in the newspapers and national radio, and employers will be requested to allow compassionate leave to Obo employees, so they might return to Obo. It is (perhaps vainly) hoped that the government would make a mandatory holiday for all Obo people as it would for the funeral of an Omanhene; and did for the late Asantehene of Kumasi and Okyenhene of Kibbi.

Accidental death (otofo wu) is looked at with disfavour. A proverb refers to this, "Nea Wahintiw awu no, wontutu mireka nko n'ayi ase, (He who has stumbled to his death, they don't run (rush) to his funeral.)"

(Rattray 1914:51). The most shameful otofo is suicide; death during childbirth being considered the worst form of suicide/infanticide. Death from diseases such as tuberculosis, syphilis, or leprosy is also considered shameful.[18] Consistent with their status, persons who die of those causes are given less elaborate funerals than they would have got if they had lived a long, fruitful life. Death while fighting in a war, although accidental, is, in contrast, seen as very honourable, and more elaborate funerals are given to those than if they had died of natural causes. For most accidental deaths, and for young people that die young, funerals are less elaborate, and therefore attract fewer migrants to the hometown.[19]

Sieber has recently analyzed the relationship between Kwawu oral traditions and their (particularly political) use of terracottas (Sieber 1972). His analysis is very comprehensive, although he states that terracottas are used only by royals (op. cit., p. 174). In Obo these figures can be commissioned by any living person or group of persons to honour any dead person. Normally all the important elders, not only of the royal lineage, but heads of all the lineages, are so honoured after death. The wealth and status of the deceased, not necessarily mere membership in the royal matrilineage, is the important political variable. Young and unimportant members of the royal lineage, if they die, do not rate terracottas made on their behalf.

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18. Traditional practices deny formal funerals for the following deaths: Kwata = leprosy, Owa = tuberculosis, Ahoho = swelling preceding death, Otwa = fits or convulsions, Otofo = suicides, state executions, witches killed by medicine or obosom, Kokraw = sores, nose falls off, syphilis (P.B., Field Notes 1972).

19. Accidents such as lorry accidents, murder, aeroplane, train, snakebite, falling out of tree, etc. are still strictly called otofo, but the deceased are not denied a funeral nowadays, yet the funeral would be smaller than otherwise given his status, (P.B., Field Notes 1972).

Detailed descriptions of funerals, and how they vary according to age, wealth, status, affiliations, popularity, and so on, are not necessary here, and may be left for further writing. A few points related to cyclical migration may be mentioned, however. Size and elaborateness of the funerals, and the number of Obo migrants they attract, are correlated. When an Obo migrant dies, a messenger is sent to the head of the abusua of the deceased, saying he is dead and that the corpse is being brought to Obo. Even if the deceased has joined a voluntary association or a funeral society, it is still his abusua who is in charge of the funeral.

The abusua elders may decide to put the corpse in a refrigerator, usually at the hospital in Nkawkaw, if his importance warrants his storage until a weekend when more people may attend, or to give time to inform more people. Since funerals may not be conducted on a dabone, a corpse may also be kept out of Obo a few days until it passes so that funeral rites need not be interrupted.

The abusua panyin (lineage head) informs the father of the deceased, or (more likely) the classificatory father (abusua panyin of the deceased's father's abusua), who in turn takes schnapps to the Obohene to inform the Obo court. No word of death may reach the ear of the chief on a dabone, although privately he may get to hear of the situation by being told things are difficult (ayeden) or tough (ayere). When the chief is informed in the palace, euphemism is used, "He has gone to his village," or, "He slept but did not wake (or rise)." Even what used to be a euphemism, "Wa ka baabi (he remained some place)," is now so much associated with death it also is avoided in the palace.

Available members of the deceased's abusua meet to seek a loan to cover expenses, and arrange to send messages to migrant members of the abusua and to other representative kinsmen (affines, related lineages,

etc.). The lineage house is prepared and the mama ("children" or classificatory children) begin bringing chairs, benches, canvass, drinks, bed, cloth, etc. in anticipation of the arrival of the corpse.

When the corpse is brought it is hidden from view, and in seclusion it is washed by its "mothers" (female members of the abusua) usually three times. The stool that it sat on to be washed is often the one chosen later as a black stool; even as a white stool it is respectfully kept if the deceased was an important elder of the abusua. The corpse is then dressed in "white" (colourful kente and finery) and laid in state in the lineage house on a bed covered with northern blankets. The alcove where it is located is highly decorated with hanging kente and tinsel decorations. Bathing, then powdering in white, and dressing in finery, makes the funeral merely a more elaborate parallel to other rites of passage as noted above. For the deceased it is an occasion of joy and victory, although it is not for the survivors.

Although the funeral is conducted by the abusua of the deceased, he is "buried" by his "children," or in Fortes' terms, the affines of the abusua.[20] The children of a man belong to the matrilineages of his wives, not his own, and the brothers' children of a woman belong to the matrilineages of her brothers'wives, thus the mama, what English-speaking Obo people call the children, of the deceased, are the affines.[21] They are usually all classificatory children or affines, for

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20. If a father disowns a child he does so by saying he won't be buried by the child. Me wu a, mempe se wosie me, (Kurankyi Taylor 1951:149).

21. In the case of the chief's children, the status is formalized by the use of the word oheneba. The head of the children of the chief is a recognized status, henebahene, in Obo and the office is presently filled by the son of Nana Nyarko who died in 1948, was succeeded by Nana Bediako and then in 1971 by Nana Asiama II.

the real children and brothers' children of the deceased are too few, and often too young, to "bury" the deceased. The mama purchase the coffin, and may make use of part of the loan if necessary. They are responsible for the labour: hoisting the canvass awnings, moving chairs and benches, digging the grave, serving drinks, and so on. They may elect to hire tankase (town council labourers, sanitary department - i.e., nightsoil carriers - frequently migrants to Obo from northern Ghana) to do the actual digging, though the "senior son" turns the first soil and ensures the grave is dug properly. The status of the deceased, thus the size of the funeral, is proportionate to the number of mama, and thus the mama constitute an important category of migrants who return to the hometown for a funeral. The one time when a chief engages in physical labour, in spite of his sacred status, is when he is a classificatory mama at an important funeral.

All visitors to the funeral arrive, are served drinks, and often food (while the mama and abusua fast) by the mama, are told the circumstances of the death by a spokesman of the abusua, and in turn relate that the funeral was the purpose of their visit and they express sympathy to the bereaved.

At some time on the day of the burial the mama announce that the corpse is decomposing, and seek permission from the abusua to bury it. A spokesman for the abusua announces this and people bring gifts of food, cloth, and wine to bury with the corpse. These are Kra (goodbye) gifts meant to send off with the deceased on his journey to Asamando.[22] The oldest favourite cloth of the deceased is torn into shreds and a piece given to each of the mama, who often wear them on their wrists, and save as a memento of the deceased. The mama take the body to where

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22. The food given to the corpse before burial is called "Kra koko."

it is to be buried in one of the Christian cemeteries, in the public (animist) cemetery, or secretly at night to a room in the lineage house. After the burial, one carton of beer (minus one bottle) and one bottle of schnapps (and more drinks above this customary amount, for ostentation) are given to the chief and elders who drink the schnapps and share the bottles of beer. Drinks are given to the mama, who are given permission to depart at will.

A table is set up during the funeral for donations. The customary donation as regulated by the Kwawu Traditional Council is set at 20 p for men, 10 p for women. Groups of occupational associates, fellow church and voluntary group members, friends, and other associates jointly donate larger sums from ¢1.00 to ¢1,000.00, and each of these is announced to the gathered mourners and sympathizers. A krakye (clerk) is appointed to record every donor's name and amount of donation at the plate (on the table). He is accompanied by elderly women of the abusua who chant their thanks in unison for every donation.

Often entertainment is provided. A traditional association of drummers or dancers or singers or all three are hired for the wakekeeping and subsequent funeral celebration. Brass bands, guitar bands, soul or rock bands may be hired instead or as well. Members of the deceased's church group, choir, or singing group often come to pray and sing. Groups of women, abusua, mama, and/or sympathizers, join to stroll through town singing laments, hymns, and dirges. "Fetish" drummers, dancers, and gods possessing their akomfo may attend and dance, sing, and drum. The chief's talking drums are played if the funeral is held at Ohantrase, as for funerals of royals and any of the chief's elders. All or some or none of these may take place depending on the status and affiliations of the deceased and his abusua. The variations and permutations are uncountable.

The third day is set aside as the day of accounts. It may occur any subsequent day, later for larger funerals, but is still called the third day. The mama formally complain that their "father" has gone and they are hungry. The elders of the abusua meet and select a successor. The accounts are tallied and publicly announced to the successor. If there is a deficit, the father or (if the deceased is a woman) the husband take a share of the debt. Sympathizers may stand up and announce that they will contribute a certain amount of money. The balance is the responsibility of the successor. The successor inherits the assets and liabilities of the deceased, money, land, houses, wives, children, etc. Some of the estate may be used to pay back any of the loan still outstanding. Occasionally there is a profit, but it is expected that it would be kept for serving refreshments to latecomers and for the subsequent memorial services. Here the accounting, being public, gives the researcher the opportunity of seeing the kind of wealth on hand. The total budget for a funeral may range from a few hundred to tens of thousands of cedis, again according to the size and complexity of the funeral.

Subsequent thanksgiving or memorial services are held after "forty" (42) days, sometimes again at "eighty" (84) days, and usually a year later. Further memorials may occur many years later; the latest I recorded was fifty years after the death. Memorial services attract some of the migrants that could not come for the funeral, and some of those who could, but they tend to be smaller in attendance size than the funeral.

Funerals attract migrants all year round.[23] Most weekends there

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23. The importance of funerals in maintaining hometown identity is manifested in the role they play in holding together lineages. Obo is not atypical in this respect:

are two or three funerals being conducted in Obo. Occasionally there are some on weekdays. Now and then there are many, up to a dozen or more, in a week. Because Obo has a resident population of less than five thousand (mostly school children), this appears to be a large number of funerals of important and wealthy people (lower status funerals are less noticeable). The age distribution and social composition of the extended community, as described in previous chapters, clearly explains this apparent paradox. People question the large number of funerals, however. The Basle missionaries wrote that they were being blamed for the cause of so many deaths. The Obohene and his elders occasionally question the large number of deaths of Obo people at any one time. Consulting the Tigare priest, or a local deity, they usually are told to sacrifice a sheep to pacify the ancestors or gods. Non-Obo people and detractors who wish to show displeasure against Obo migrants' success in trade frequently point to the large number of funerals as evidence of Obo people's propensity for Nzima bayie (money witchcraft).[24] It is frequently feared by Obo people that Obo loses too

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> Funerals and memorial services for the dead also contribute to the continued integration of the extended family. At these functions, members of the extended family from widely scattered parts of the country come together to pay homage to the memory of a departed member. Many members meet for the first time and the children are introduced to their aunts and uncles. The members of the extended family act as one unit and make a common contribution to the expenses of the funeral and any debts incurred in connection with the funeral are shared by members.... Such joint activities help to reinforce social ties among members of the extended family, ties that might otherwise weaken in the face of increasing regional and social mobility.
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> (Tetteh 1967:215)

24. Some deaths, for example, are seen as the persons being called to Asamando by the ancestors. This notion is also mentioned by Mends, who refers to nsamanyarba ("disease of the ghosts"), in Anomabu. He described the sudden death of a young man killed by a ghost because the young man had neglected to settle a family palaver concerning a widow who had not performed all rites for the ghost (Mends 1968:143). There are numerous similar incidents in Obo. Often a person would die, then

many people through death (since there are so many funerals), and this encourages people to have children. People must be born; enticed to migrate back from Asamando to replace those who are lost to Obo as they migrate to Asamando. Thus we come full circle, birth to death; Asamando to Awiase and to Asamando again.

From a material or scientific point of view, death is the end. There is no more movement, let alone migration. From the point of view of Obo people (and that viewpoint affects social and migratory behaviour) it is not the end, but a transition point on a circular path. The spirits of the deceased are expected to migrate on to another world, Asamando, while their corpses and material goods are kept in Obo. In Asamando they are expected to serve their term of duty, helping their descendants with fertility, wealth, and happiness. After a spell there they are expected to return again to Awiase by birth. So life is not merely a return, but it is a full circle. It is this notion of connection (with locations in past and future) maintaining communication by articles of sympathetic magic (stools, etc.), that results in the ethos of cyclical migration. Death is thus not the final return, but one of many, and the importance of funerals in migration and social organization must be seen in this light.

This essentially completes the ethnographic model of the community extended by cyclical migration. It remains now to summarize and conclude the thesis.

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close relatives would die shortly after that. It would be said that the first person opened a case in the court in Asamando and that the subsequent people were called as witnesses or to be charged. The concept of honhom described earlier in the chapter is another example. The idea reinforces the view of death as a form of migration to another dimension if not to another place.

CONCLUSION

THE UTILITY OF ETHNOGRAPHY IN MIGRATION STUDIES

The thesis opened with the symbols of a cyclical universe, setting the theme for this study. Migration from Obo is cyclical rather than one-way, and cyclical migration generates a social form, a community of spatially dispersed people who identify with a hometown. Chapter one reviewed the literature on migration and considered the place of return migration in social studies. The objectives of the study, its methodology, and techniques of data collection were then explained. Chapters two to six constituted an ethnography, based on the synthesis of disparate data. They described the development and organization of the community. The life cycle was deemed the most useful heuristic device for understanding the dynamics of migration. The ethnography ended with death and the rituals that bring not only the deceased, but also the living migrants back to the hometown, maintaining the community as a single social organism. The overall pattern of migration and resultant extended community will now be summarized. The conclusions based on the tests of hypotheses will be listed. The problems encountered by the methodology, and the various techniques of data collection, will be examined for discernible sources of systematic error. Finally, the utility of this approach, and of this study, will be questioned; its usefulness in furthering scholarly scientific knowledge, and its usefulness to Obo people or to others who may be affected by similar studies.

The Pattern of Obo Migration and Social Organization

The most interesting discovery resulting from an ethnographic approach to the study of migration is what migration is not, rather than what it is. This study confirms the hypothesis that migration is not merely the geographic relocation of a certain number of individuals from one society to another. It also confirms that host and donor locations, including urban and rural ones, should not necessarily be understood as separate social entities, although they may display differing characteristics. A total interpenetrating, dispersed community comprising people located in the donor location plus people located in numerous host locations, all identifying in varying degrees with the hometown, is seen as the total social system within which migrants move about.

This is not to deny that for certain other purposes, various donor and host communities may be seen as separate entities. Nor is this an attempt to identify so-called "tribal" culture in the cities, or the converse. On one plane of analysis the city should be seen as a city and the rural areas as something else. On another plane (this one), the object to be examined is a system or community which transcends but also forms an integral part of both rural and urban locations. Migration is an important element in the adhesive which holds together a single community which is widely dispersed, and the population of which, in certain senses, is also integrated into various other communities.

Time plays an important role in both the operation and observation of this migrant community. Time may be instantaneous, short run, long run, or historical. Examined synchronically, members are seen to be located in both donor and host locations. While identifying with their hometown, links between them are primarily expressed by community members in terms of kinship relationships. In the short run, one can observe that members of the dispersed migrant community visit one

another. Hometown residents visit one another, or visit relatives in host communities. Migrants normally resident in host communities visit their hometown. Some hometown visits are occasioned in regular cycles. These include stool rites every six weeks attended by certain, usually older, migrants. Annual occasions such as Easter attract larger numbers including younger migrants. Other visits, such as for funerals of important members, although not regular, do occur frequently, and constitute important occasions for Obo migrants to visit their hometown.

Longer periods of time are important for other features of the system. One can observe that members of the community spend parts of their lifetimes in certain host locations. The operation of a cyclical migration system, and social cohesion of the total dispersed migrant community, must necessarily be seen in terms of the aggregate of life cycles or personal histories of the members of that community. In the historical long run one can observe that an overall gradual shift, characterized by frequent shorter run cyclical movements, occurs from donor to host community. Because of economic factors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, people tended to move to Obo, then in the twentieth century their descendants moved away from Obo. Obo was at one time a large bustling market town on an important trade route. At that time it was a host location for cyclical migrants from other areas. Some stayed. Oral traditions and infrequent current visits by Obo people to ancient homelands together point to a historic growth of the Obo population; a growth characterized by cyclic migration from other places. Since the turn of the century the long run trend has been a net shift away from Obo. Currently there are a number of people away from Obo who may trace their origins to Obo, although their present identification with Obo is rather tenuous. Accra, now the most important host location in this respect, contains an indeterminate number of

such Obo migrants. Hometown identity appears to shift in the long run, although it is maintained during short run cyclical migration.

Seen in different time contexts, Obo migration, and the operation of the social system, paradoxically appear to be contradictory. In the shortest time period, synchronic, certain people located in Obo and elsewhere identify with Obo, usually through kin ties. In the short run they make hometown visits. Over their lifetimes they change their residence. In the longest run (historical time period), they constitute a patterned net shifting of population. The development and the operation of the community must therefore be seen in terms of time, and any static structure seen at any one instant must also be understood with respect to its dynamics; its changes over time.

Like any community, this one, although it has the added feature of cyclical migration which results in residence of its members being dispersed over a wide geographical area, must be seen as a unified cultural whole. Understood holistically, it can be observed from a number of different but closely related dimensions. For analytical purposes these were discussed in different sections of chapters, but as dimensions the total community could not exist if any one of these interrelated dimensions were missing.

One dimension, time, has just been mentioned. Another (the geographical dimension) is a locational phenomenon of society. Migration takes place in a given geographic space having a certain physical environment. Like all culture, the dispersed community must come to terms with that environment. Much of the activity of members of the community is determined by the requirement to satisfy certain needs and desires (the economic dimension) by using tools and techniques (the technological dimension), to exploit the environment. Given the technical and economic basis for the distribution of wealth, certain forms

of distribution of power and influence (the political dimension) give rise to certain observably regular forms of interaction (the social dimension). Justifying and sanctioning this human behaviour, the members of the community express their view of the universe in terms of the values attached to expectation of behaviour (the ideological dimension), often expressed or dramatized communally in the form of certain rites (the ceremonial dimension). Ecological, historical, technical, economic, political, social, ideological, and ritual dimensions are seen as interrelated analytical categories which essentially are different ways of looking at the same thing: the operation of a migration system in a single, but geographically dispersed, community.

The aggregate of population which constitutes the community at any one time consists of people in all stages of their life cycles. The social interaction between various members each in their own stage or position of their life course, constitutes the social interaction of the community. To understand the aggregate further, it was useful to examine the procession of stages, each blending with the next, as experienced by each individual. Each stage of the life cycle, in the aggregate, in turn has different consequences for each cultural dimension of the migrant community.

The child begins life with his mother who frequently has gone to the hometown or her mother's satellite village, to give birth in the matrilineal home. The earlier years before weaning may be spent there or in a conjugally based residence group in a host location if his mother goes to live with her husband. The decision is determined by social and economic circumstances, rather than by a mere unquestioned tradition. The child begins life with no economic and political power and his social skills are nil. As he gets older, if he survives, these increase. When the child is weaned he may stay with his mother in a

host community or likely be sent to a matrilineal female relative, or resident group, normally headed by people older than his mother. The same applies to school-age children. The choice to stay in a migrant conjugal residence group or a matrilineal group, in the city, a town, a village, or the hometown is decided for the child according to the resources his relatives can negotiate for him. More promising students, and more frequently boys, are sent to the hometown where the schools are better but food costs are higher. They also stay longer in the hometown than girls and less academically promising boys. The latter two are more likely to be sent to satellite villages where school attendance and standards are both lower, and the child can be of more assistance on the farms. In some cases village residence groups are matrilineally based, other times conjugal. There is a high degree of association between (a) youngest ages, (b) matrilineal affiliation, (c) hometown or village residence, and (d) few or no economic resources, little political influence, and few social skills. At the same time, the costs of feeding, training, and educating the child are thought to be the responsibility of his father, who is not of his matrilineage. It is often to his father and other consanguines, not to his matrilineage, that the individual turns when he begins to make his own decisions about migration.

After finishing or leaving school, the individual will usually travel, or find some way to leave his dependent condition; by training or learning a trade. The most frequent choice, evidenced by the Obo survey, appears to be as seamstress or tailor. To obtain capital for his machines and shop, the migrant frequently resorts to connections through his father. Again the choice is not "customary," but results from individual maximized utilization of perceived potential resources.

After learning a trade, the individual is likely to move on to another town, then to a city to practise the trade, first seeking relatives to help with his establishment. Again the individual manipulates and negotiates the available social resources. Money earned from artisan work is often transferred into petty trade activity, frequently with the objective of becoming a fulltime trader. The exception is skilled, educated workers with secure positions such as government posts. The individual tries to extricate himself from ties of obligation incurred in getting established, often doing so by "repayment" - assisting further younger migrants. More or less temporary conjugal arrangements are entered into at this stage, sometimes these result in childbirth. Given adequate financial resources, more stable marriage arrangements are made later, and conjugal nuclear family-based residence groups develop. Political power is increased, primarily as a result of increase in personal wealth, as the person gets older. There is another high degree of association: between (a) middle or child-rearing ages, (b) conjugal affiliation, (c) host community residence, and (d) increasing control over economic resources, political influence, and social skills.

In the same way that surplus funds earned from artisan activities were siphoned off to become investment in trading, at a later stage profits from trading are siphoned off to become investment in land for farming activity. This may be done by purchase of land or by financing stool litigations. As the individual's children get older, he increasingly pays attention to his matrilineage again. Less attention is paid to affines. A number of individuals matrilineally inherit stools, office, and land. Visits to the hometown, which at earlier migrant stages were infrequent due to lack of resources, increase in frequency and duration as the individual becomes wealthier and secures more power

and respect in the hometown.

There is a gradual shift again away from conjugal family ties, host community participation, trade and business, and a corresponding shift in interests towards affairs of his matrilineage and the hometown, and towards agrarian pursuits.

At the final stage of the cycle, the migrant returns permanently to the hometown or satellite village and eventually lives off the produce of his investments: his children, his farm, his savings, and his property. There is a third high degree of association between (a) oldest ages, (b) matrilineal affiliation, (c) hometown or village residence, and (d) maximum control over economic resources, political influence, and social skills. At death a migrant is normally buried in the hometown, not in a satellite village, even if he or she had not already returned prior to death; and the cycle continues.

Thus the stages of an individual's life course are closely related to his economic pursuits, which largely prescribe his migrant locations and affect his social and political status. Kinship residence beginning with life with mother tends to proceed from matrilineal, through consanguineal or patrilateral, followed by independent conjugal, then to matrilineal again. Rural-urban differences, therefore, are not merely an indication of social change but should be seen as an aggregation of individual life cycles. Hometown visits are infrequent at earlier stages but increase in frequency and intensity until final retirement in the hometown. The age structure, as well as occupational differentiation, and kinship residence patterns of the aggregate population at any one time in both donor and host locations, reflect these general stages in the life cycles of most members.

The total migrant community is thus a dynamic system of social interaction; a spatially dispersed, multi-dimensional, interpenetrating,

holistic entity in which individuals maximizing their potential resources, move about assuming different roles and statuses (stati) between donor and various host locations, interacting with one another in accordance with their current stages of their life cycles. The cyclical migration pattern observed in this study thus reveals a complex social system rather than the mere movement of individuals from one place to another.

Conclusions: (a) The Tested Hypotheses

After initial observations in Obo, a set of hypotheses about migration and social organization were generated. The hypotheses were classed into four sets having a total of fifteen specific predictions. From these, following an analysis of culture into various dimensions, forty-eight sub-hypotheses were then generated. Apart from a few exceptions or modifications noted below, the data presented in chapters two through five as an ethnographic description confirm or demonstrate the validity of those predictions. In some cases data were insufficient to justify a statement of "proof", yet they at least demonstrated that the indicated conclusions would not be unreasonable or illogical. A few hypotheses required reformulation or modifications of the original theoretical point of view, and those will be commented on in turn.

The first set of hypotheses (Ia to Ig) were tested successfully and require no modifications. Obo migration was shown to have a significant return element (Ia), regardless of the attrition rate (one-way migrants), resulting in some migrants no longer calling themselves Obo people. The return element was an expression of migrant identification with the hometown (Ib), which constituted the solidarity holding together the dispersed community described in the ethnography. This identification consisted of individual home ties manifested by visits and remittances (Ic) to Obo by Obo migrants living in various host

locations. The strength of these home ties varied for migrants over their life courses (Id), whose frequencies of hometown visits thus varied. Ties grew stronger with age, status, and wealth (If), thus migrants who had been in host locations (e.g., the city) longest, identified least with the host locations and most with the hometown. Variations in institutions (such as kinship interaction, composition of household groups, marital status, etc.) or institutional participation of migrants over their life cycles (Ie) were thus functionally correlated to the cyclical migration pattern. The resultant dispersed or extended community formed by the aggregate of these life cycles was thus seen as a unified cultural process (Ig) maintained by cyclical migration and the retention of home ties by migrants from Obo.

The second set of hypotheses (IIa to IIc) required some modifications. They began with the assumption that the various cultural dimensions were interrelated (IIa), a notion derived from functional analysis. In any sector of the community, household, palace, marketplace, etc., all of the cultural dimensions (e.g., mode of wealth allocation, structure of beliefs, patterns of interaction, and so on) can be observed to be functionally interrelated. The difficulty arises from the application of historical time to an analysis of the whole community. It is logically derived from the notion of functional interrelationships that changes in any one dimension should result in (predictable) changes in all other cultural dimensions (IIb), and that was expected of the Obo community. Change over a period of two centuries, as described for Obo, was mostly a result of syncretic accumulation and adaptations - and rates of changes in the various dimensions were not the same, nor were those changes seen to be all causally related to each other (e.g., the introduction of roads, the introduction of Christianity, and urban migration). In its stated form, the hypothesis was not proved. Rapid changes in the technical

and economic dimensions did not directly lead to rapid changes in social institutions (especially the predicted destruction of matriliny), while the structure of beliefs (in ancestors and gods) and ritual (e.g., Akwasidae) remained essentially the same. Although the various dimensions continued to be functionally interrelated, there were no equivalent simultaneous changes in all of them as a result of changes in any one of them. The notion that change in the migration pattern also would result in changes in each of the cultural dimensions (IIc) was perhaps poorly formulated. It appears, instead, that the direction of causality is the other way round. Changes in some dimensions of the community (noted below) resulted in modifications in the basic pattern of cyclical migration. The most important conclusion, however, is the continuity and adaptation of social institutions and cultural regularities, including cyclical migration and hometown identity of migrants, over the centuries, even while new technical, social, economic, political, and ideological traits were introduced.

The very difficulties that arose in testing the second set of hypotheses provided support for the third set (IIIa to IIIc). This study demonstrated that social institutions are not disintegrating but by adapting (IIIa) they have survived and probably will do so for many years. As predicted, this adaptation applied to each dimension (IIIb), but differently to each dimension. The migration pattern, based on a nucleus and satellite community organization which was functional in hunting and agrarian technologies has survived (IIIc) into the industrial era, by adaptation. One institution of pattern selected for special mention is the conjugal-lineal distinction, which in agrarian society was associated with the satellite-hometown dichotomy. It has survived by adapting to urban migration and results in patterns that should not be interpreted merely as an overall movement towards conjugal families

and bilateral kinship as a result of Western industrial urbanism. That is only one example. Continuity with pre-colonial social forms permeates the community.

The fourth set of hypotheses completes the picture of cyclical migration, hometown identification, and the resultant extended interpenetrating community. Rural-urban migration, which is only a part of the total dynamics of migration within the dispersed community, results in contact with the worldwide industrial communication network. Because of selective acceptance of some urban traits, the Obo community is undergoing urbanization while at the same time retaining some pre-urban features (IVa) which, as noted above, survive by adaptation. The network of Obo migrants and residents can be seen as a communication system which absorbs new traits by syncretic adoption (Vb) in a diffusionary process dependent upon the interpenetrating characteristic of the dispersed community. Examined over a period of two centuries, the Obo community resembles a single organic or lifelike unit (Vc) to which Kroeber's adjective "superorganic" could be applied. The development of that community constituted the subject matter of the ethnography.

From the fifteen hypotheses were generated a further forty-eight sub-hypotheses. These were classed according to the respective cultural dimensions and the observed data pertaining to each one were arranged in the same order from chapter two to six as in the ethnographic description. Chapter two began the ethnography with a sketch of the geographical and historical background and a demographic description of the Obo migrant and resident population. Chapter three described the technological occupational and economic dimensions. Chapter four was concerned with socialization, life cycles, and identity. Chapter five dealt with kinship and political forms. Chapter six described the world view, ideology, rituals, and calendar which provided

the rationale and organizing framework for holding the community together, especially by hometown visits. In this summary, the same order will be used to discuss each tested sub-hypothesis.

Chapter two described the geographical, historical, and demographic dimensions of Obo. The observations pertained to the first eight sub-hypotheses. Migration was found to have roots in the past (1) as present members of the community recognized its origin as being the result of migration. Successive migrations to Obo, and later cyclical migrations of Obo people, resulted in new cultural traits being added onto older ones (2), the details of which were noted in subsequent chapters. Oral traditions, particularly those of the major lineages, in which political power is concentrated (described in chapter four), reflected present structures and attitudes of the community (3), regardless of their authenticity as historical events. Past social forms were seen to have had an influence on present forms (4), particularly in areas affecting migration behaviour. It was shown, for example, that in an environment of rain-forest warfare and slave-raiding, the nucleated community (and its complementary satellite) survived, and this contributed to the complementary "home-away" pattern of migration and social structure. Past social forms thus also contributed to present patterns of migration (5). Ecology was found to have an influence on migration (6) as a growing population needed to expand its living space. Although a purely ecological approach was not pursued, the data indicated that further analysis in that direction would be fruitful. Just as rates of migration are affected by distance (Bartle 1973), other factors being constant, frequencies and duration of home visits were correlated to distance (7), nearer migrants returning more frequently than further ones. Other factors were not constant, however, and were examined in subsequent chapters. In an analysis of the size of Obo over time,

changes in resident population were found to be related not only to natural factors of birth rates and death rates, but also to changing migration patterns. These hypotheses, related to the historical, geographical, and demographical dimensions were successfully tested with the observations recorded in the second chapter.

Chapter three described the technology, economy, and the occupational structure of the extended community. The observed data recorded in the chapter pertained to the second set of (eleven) sub-hypotheses, 9 to 19. Migration was found to have affected the selectivity of adoption of new technology (9), wherein some industry encountered in host locations was not automatically brought by migrants back to the hometown. Selected skills were acquired by Obo migrants, including many that could not be practised in Obo. Change in technology (especially urban commercial and industrial growth) did not destroy the cyclical migration pattern (10), although it resulted in modifications. It permitted the extended community to operate over greater distances and involving a larger dispersed population. Culture contact generated by cyclical migration resulted in the laying of new technology onto old (11) to form the present combination. With the growth of urban centres to the south, migrants left Obo not only to hunt, farm, or trade, but to exploit the urban environment. Wage labour resulted in an interdependent relationship between migration and occupational differentiation (12) or division of labour. Variation in occupational pursuits over the course of individual lifespans was found to be functionally related to migratory careers (13), demonstrating the utility of a life cycle approach in analyzing cyclical labour migration. Migrants did not automatically or "traditionally" migrate to specific places or occupations, but manipulated personal networks of kinsmen and friends (14) over their occupational careers. In the aggregate, their behaviour

demonstrated some measure of predictability or order. While various occupations took migrants to predictably different host locations, it was suspected that those in rural occupations (farmers) would more likely return for traditional events (e.g., Akwasidae) than would those in urban occupations. This sub-hypothesis (15) required modification. Urban workers in paid employment, particularly civil servants, did not return as frequently for Akwasidae, whereas self-employed urban migrants (traders) returned as frequently as the farmers. The overall migration pattern was seen to change with respect to changes in modes of allocation (16), the general direction being towards migration for paid employment and cash-cropping. Some aspects of the economic dimension (e.g., remittances) were found to be related to the migration pattern (17) and to the single economy of the dispersed community. Maintenance of home ties thus resulted in the pumping of new investment into the hometown (18) through house-building and community projects financed by migrants. This transfer of wealth therefore partially offset the effects of brain drain (19) that selectively squeezed out human resources from the hometown. With the exception of the sub-hypothesis relating occupations to home visits, these hypotheses, belonging to cultural dimensions of technology, work, and economy, were all satisfactorily tested with the observations recorded in chapter three.

Chapter four described the life cycles and socialization of migrants in the dispersed community. The observed data pertained to the third set of (seven) sub-hypotheses, 20 to 26. A paradoxical feature of cyclical migration was the variation in individual identification. Although they continued to identify themselves as Obo people, their behaviour and attitudes changed according to the rural or urban nature of their host location environments (2). This was reflected, for example, in their being known by different names at home, at school, in

trade, at farm, or in the palace. Individuals were not socialized merely in a host location, but were socialized into a segment of an extended community (21), thus they learned attitudes and behaviour designed for migratory circulation throughout that dispersed community. Cyclical migration is a way of life in the community; young migrants were prepared to move into unfamiliar (e.g., urban) locations because the people around them had already been (elders) or were also preparing to go (peers). Although increased education changed the structure and composition of Obo, the frequencies of visits were not significantly different for educated and non-educated migrants (22). The difference between educated and non-educated migrants, however, was in the host locations where they tended to go (22), educated migrants tending to go to urban rather than rural locations. As people lived longer in the host locations they paradoxically identified more with the hometown than with their host locations.

Continuity with past forms was observed for associations other than those based on kinship (23), which did not appear solely as a result of migration. Although there was some continuity with past forms, the number and variety of such organizations increased (24), reflecting the changes in technology and economy associated with urbanization. Both hometown institutions and new forms generated in urban locations contributed to those associations (25). No institutions or associations accountable to national or urban administrative organizations in urban areas were found to be responsible for easing the trauma of migrant adjustments (26). Adaptation by new migrants to the alien host environment was still the responsibility of existing institutions (kinship, friendship) within the extended community. These sub-hypotheses, related to life cycles, socialization, identity, and associations, were all successfully tested with observations recorded in chapter four.

Chapter five described the social and political dimensions of the dispersed community, with respect to the institutional structures, generated by aggregate life cycles described in the previous chapter. The observed data, directly and indirectly related to affinal and consanguineal categories of kinship, pertained to the fourth set of (eleven) sub-hypotheses, 27 to 37. The cyclical migration pattern was found to be functionally related to certain aspects of kinship (20) as demonstrated by residence patterns and political participation. Matriliny and the abusua structure was found to be affected by migration, particularly modern migration to Accra, but there was no evidence of its immediate demise (27). As with other institutions, it was found to have survived by adapting to new conditions. Some aspects of the kinship system were seen to have resulted from the process of overlaying traits introduced by migration (28). Among married people the tendency was for neolocal residence in host locations but duolocal residence in the hometown (29), emphasizing the complementary nature of "home-away" structures. It appears that this tendency occurred in pre-colonial agrarian times, but was well suited to adapt to (cyclical) migration to urban industrial locations (30). There were a few variations within this overall tendency. Some hometown neolocal residence was observed among residents with high status or wealth (31), and there was a slightly higher proportion of neolocal and of virilocal-avunculocal residence among urban as opposed to rural migrants when they visited Obo (32). Apart from these, residence patterns of migrants to urban locations were not significantly different from those of rural host locations (33), although both differed from residence patterns of hometown residents, and of migrants when they visited Obo (34).

The traditional political framework, based on chieftaincy and the federation of matrilineages, also did not disappear with technical

changes generated by migration (35). Although the functions of the chief's council in the hometown had been considerably reduced, along with the power and autonomy of the chiefs, the structures remain the same. Change towards the Asante model began with the migration of Akan peoples to Kwawu and became more complex with a succession of political eras, up to the present. Certain apsects of political dynamics, including aging and the ideology of gerontocracy, were found to be functionally related to cyclical migration (36) and life cycles in the dispersed community. The present political system was seen as a composition resulting from overlaying new traits on old (37) by a process of syncretic selection and adaptation. These sub-hypotheses, related to kinship and polity, were all successfully tested with the observations recorded in chapter five.

Chapter six was concerned with world view, ideology, the allocation of time, and organization of celebrations and rituals in maintaining the dispersed community. The observed data pertain to the fourth set of (eleven) sub-hypotheses, 38 to 48. The cyclical migration pattern was found to be functionally related to various aspects of ideology and attitudes towards wellbeing and the supernatural (38). Religious beliefs and institutions were found to be composed of a synthesis of overlaid traits introduced by migration (39) and syncretically added onto existing beliefs and attitudes. Early beliefs and rituals survived by adaptation. In the Akan cosmography of the Obo people, all life and death was seen as migration (40), in which individuals journey back and forth between Asamando and Awiase. Information about the effectiveness of witch-purgers and medical healers passed through the communication network of the extended community (41), bringing both Obo migrants and other people resident in the host locations back to the professional healing specialists in Obo and the satellite villages. It was expected that

non-Christians would visit Obo for Akwasidae more than Christians (42) and that Christians would visit Obo for Easter more than non-Christians (43), but that difference was not statistically significant. What became apparent was that Akwasidae drew migrants home every six weeks, while Easter drew them annually, even though many visitors were not participants in the rites celebrated on those occasions. There was some tendency for non-Christians to live duolocally more than Christians (44), but not enough to contradict the residential patterns described in the previous chapter. Not only beliefs, but also rituals, important in sustaining the solidarity and continuity of the extended community, were found to be functionally related to the pattern of cyclical migration (45) and this was particularly demonstrated for events such as Akwasidae on the six-week cycle of the Akan calendar. Younger and more urban migrants tended to come to Obo for Easter (46), while older and more politically and economically influential migrants returned more frequently for Akwasidae (48) and funerals. Although it was expected that funerals attracted the most migrants (47), it was recorded on the survey that Akwasidae was more frequently stated as a purpose for a visit. However, a large number of Obo migrants visiting on Akwasidae did not participate in the Adae rites, nor attend meetings of the chief's council of elders held every Akwasidae. Akwasidae was the occasion, not the purpose, of their visits. Many memorial services, often referred to as the forty-day memorials, were held on either side of Akwasidae even though they could not be held on the day itself. Migrants visited Obo on Akwasidae, but their purpose was for funerals or more usually memorials held on Akwasidae weekends. With the exception of this last mentioned caveat and the ones relating purposes of visits to religious affiliations, all these hypotheses, related to cosmology, attitudes, time, and rituals, were satisfactorily tested with the observations

recorded in chapter five.

Apart from a few reformulations and caveats, it can be safely concluded that the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses generated in chapter one were successfully tested by observed data described in chapters two, three, four, and five. To sum them up, the general picture is of a complex organism, a single dispersed community extended by cyclical migration over a wide geographical area, including both urban and rural host locations, the dynamics of which is related to a pattern of continual spatial relocation. All the hypotheses relate to the operation of that complex organism. What remains now, after the hypotheses have been tested, is to examine the problems encountered in the course of the research, and to evaluate the utility of this methodological approach.

Conclusions: (b) Problems Encountered in the Research

Two types of problems merit discussion here: those arising from the methodology, and those resulting from specific techniques of data collection. Discussion will be limited to those which lead to recognizable, if not precisely measurable, systematic error or bias. (Personal problems such as malarial fever, loneliness, or imbibing too much on palm wine during libations are omitted.) These caveats do not amount to justification for rejection of the research or its results, but as in any careful research, they must be recognized so that the limitations of the approach may be delineated.

The first type of problem is associated with the methodology, beginning with a sending or donor community (rural hometown) and following migrants to the host locations. Bias is towards hometown identification. The true net attrition rate (migrants who drop all hometown ties and identify with the host community) is impossible to measure. Most migrants are outward-looking when they leave Obo; few recognize their Obo identity. Many state then that they have no intention of returning,

even though they can be located via Obo residents and via other Obo migrants who visit Obo. Older returned Obo migrants admit that they once had no intention of returning. It is therefore expected that young Obo migrants who now say they are leaving forever, will someday return - if only in a box. The computation of net attrition rate would require a city-based or host location-based survey. The caveat of latent return ideology (demonstrated in the life cycle discussion in chapter four) would bias the host location survey in favour of higher attrition as does this donor location survey bias it in favour of lower attrition. Although the Obo study may be biased in favour of returnees (cyclical migration is seen as a necessary element in the structure of the dispersed community), numerous other studies such as those by Caldwell and Gugler (idem) justify this emphasis on return migration and urban-rural ties. The large rate of return visits and the maintenance of hometown ties, recorded in the Obo study, is sufficient to warrant an inquiry into a separate but related topic, the formation of a socially united but geographically dispersed community. Whatever the real net attrition rate, it is too small to warrant the rejection of this approach.

The second class of problems is associated with the techniques of data collection. Those techniques lie somewhere between those used traditionally by anthropologists and sociologists, by social scientists studying small preliterate societies and those studying complex literate societies. Available historical documents are necessarily scanty and uneven. Until well into this century, the Obo populace was illiterate; documents were written by outside observers, none of whom identified with Obo or lived within the community for any length of time. The alternative, oral traditions, are not only incomplete to contemporary selectivity of what facts to be retained, but also biased because of

the changing political and moral climates of the times through which the tales passed. Certain secrets about embarrassing events in each lineage are overtly hidden or modified to suit the pride of current raconteurs. Migration and urbanization doubtlessly play a large part in eliminating the songs and drum poetry that provide mnemonic aids to informants who could tell the stories. Obo is too big and complex to do a complete genealogy - even of a few major lineages in the tradition of Rivers, while the complexity of religious, educational, and occupational characteristics make the community something far more complex than the one studied by Malinowski. Questionnaires alone, on the other hand, useful as they were for some purposes, could not provide depth of analysis needed to analyze the complementary relationship between lineages and conjugal families. Yet, combined with limited genealogical data, the survey was useful in providing certain statistically relevant statements. The use of the household composition survey (which included a mini-genealogy for each surveyed house), was also an advantage in that it provided a raison d'etre for living in Obo and the satellites. The status of horn blower, in contrast, rationalized my presence in the Obo palace and among the black stools; but my role as seen by the townspeople, the reason for this stranger residing here, was as some krakyie (clerk) doing some survey (for the university) that resembled the Ghana census. With the questionnaire I could enter houses other than those introduced to me via the friendship network. The latter, with participant observation, perhaps puts the observer in closer contact with everyday life of the people, but also provides the most obvious source of systematic error. There is systematic elimination of certain types of those observed. Such a study could not be conducted by a shy and introverted researcher. Suspicious, shy, untalkative, or unfriendly informants are eliminated. This researcher and informant selectivity might

result in psychological biases, although strict adherence to interviewing in all predetermined houses counteracted the bias to some extent. Only one woman refused to assist and hid in the bath even after an Obo elder was solicited to assist in obtaining cooperation. Further drawbacks of the community approach included the language requirement and the necessity for considerable patience (to deal with contradictory information and devious informants), an open and friendly manner, and lots and lots of time. These are not all available to all researchers. The element of suspiciousness appeared to be associated with illiteracy, and lack of power and status, so this bias could systematically affect the results. Thus, no matter what single technique of data collection is employed, biases resulting from data sources and means of recording or eliciting data, can be recognized although seldom measured.

In recognition of these biases, the logical tactic was to use numerous techniques in conjunction and synthesize the results. This study is the result of that synthesis. A further methodological problem arises in the synthesis, or mix of these disparate sources. A combination is required; but in what proportions? The total should comprise what mix of the various sources? There is no test for the most efficient mix. A further methodological problem then appears. Without a rigidly defined set of parameters within which to collect data (i.e., closed questionnaire), the validity of the study can then only rest on its thoroughness. The difficulty is that there is no test of thoroughness. What documents may have been overlooked? What rituals were missed? What informants were ignored or not heard about? These three questions cannot be answered until some Obo people themselves read this report and then, if sufficiently interested in scholarship, search available rituals or documents. The extent to which such further study

supplements this one is then the measure of how much was missed here.

Naturally there were numerous difficulties encountered in the field; it could hardly be otherwise expected of four years' work. It is unnecessary to recall them here, for those which may have resulted in systematic error, noted above, constitute the main interest here. Suffice to say that overall, and in retrospect, Obo people were hospitable, friendly, and supportive, and generally had a positive attitude towards the research and the researcher. Now we turn to a few considerations of the utility of the research, its validity in terms of how useful the approach may be, or for what purposes it may be put.

Planning and Predictions: The Utility of This Approach

When assessing the usefulness of the Obo study, two kinds of utility may be discussed. One might be called scholarly utility, the other social utility. The first refers to the efficiency of the approach in observing, delineating, and explicating the dynamics of migration and its role in social organization. The second refers to the use to which such research may be put, for solving problems identified by the society, or in aiding development decisions taken by planners and policy-makers. In both kinds this approach has its assets and liabilities.

Before assessing the scholarly utility of this approach, it must be pointed out that its methodology is more closely affined to that of natural science rather than to that of experimental science. A finite set of possible answers is not determined *a priori* before observations are made. Because of this it is an arduous approach; it does not exactly lack direction, but its direction is not precisely defined. The researcher must be more alert for an unknown end than he would be if a select number of potential outcomes were already defined. Yet this is what also results in its major asset, the serendipity potential. A long time is required to ferret out the mechanics of the community, but

patience and careful observation of what at first appears to be numerous unrelated data, results in a depth of understanding greater than that of any quick survey. Greater, too, than a test based on an experimental model, wherein the questions to be asked are known before research commences.

The approach, however, does not lack a basic a priori feature. This takes the form of an assumption and a question. "There probably is some discernible order in migration and social organization - What is it?" But the approach is not hindered by having a precise set of questions and a finite set of answers. The answer consists of this model of the extended Obo community, dispersed by cyclical migration.

Prediction, a major objective of science, is also facilitated by this approach. The community, as it originated and developed over the last two centuries, has been examined and its present social structure observed. Prediction requires this kind of information; in physics or mechanical engineering, to predict where an automobile will go requires information about the road along which it has been travelling and its direction, as well as its mass and velocity. In sociological analysis (with apologies to the school of Boas), history cannot be overlooked. Predictions about Obo people must be based on its growth or development, as well as on its present social structure. The future is like one side of a triangle which must be located in reference to the other two, the past and present.

Another important feature of this approach is its multidisciplinary or multidimensional approach. An element of analysis is here that is implied in both Marxian and functional analysis: no single cultural dimension of the community can be seen without reference to the others. Migration is not merely a demographic movement of people, nor should it be seen merely as people moving according to variations in resources or

costs and benefits. The community of migrants is multidimensional. It is like a matchbox having length, width, and height: remove any one dimension and you no longer have the matchbox. For purposes of organizing this report, technology and economy were put in a different chapter than social institutions, and than ideology, but at the price of cross-reference, if not redundancy. It is not possible to thoroughly analyze one cultural dimension without reference to the others.

These then constitute the utility of this study for scientific scholarship. Serendipity is the benefit while expended time and effort is the cost of an open a posteriori approach. Predictability and understanding are the crops reaped after sowing historical and structural synthesis. Synthesis of cultural dimensions is the product of a cross-disciplinary combination of methodology. In these ways the Obo study contributes to social science.

In assessing the social utility of the study, a question must be raised. "Useful for whose purposes?" The aims of the people, the leaders and the led, inside and outside the Obo community, must all be considered. There is no guarantee that those aims will coincide, rather there is reason to doubt, because of different objectives and interests. No matter what the answer to the question, a basic maxim remains. To effectively introduce any changes in a community (such as Obo), its structure, its institutions, its cultural organization, must be known. The extent to which these are not known is the potential extent to which introduced policy changes will be other than predicted or desired. The value of the Obo study is to analyze and describe the dynamics of the community, not only to aid in assessing what developmental needs are outstanding, but to assist in determining how to introduce changes or in predicting the results of proposed introductions.

One feature of the Obo community important to planning decisions is its complementary rural-urban relationship. Long-term objectives (say fifteen to twenty years) for some rural changes, paradoxically may be more efficiently pursued in urban centres. Birth control (which Bleek op. cit. rightly distinguishes from family planning) propaganda, for example, which is meant to influence rural areas (where birth rates are highest), may be more efficiently concentrated in urban areas. There are three reasons for this: (a) a large proportion of infants born in rural areas are conceived in urban areas, (b) conception during funerals and festivals in the hometown often occur where at least one partner (usually male) is normally an urban resident, (c) a large proportion of rural residents have formerly spent some portion of their lives in an urban centre. For a second example, changes in rural agricultural policy (new techniques, use of fertilizer, etc.), if carefully planned, could be encouraged more effectively in urban areas where communication technology is more advanced. Likewise hometown festivals could be exploited to disseminate information. It is signficant that the majority of Obo migrants who make decisions about farm management (in contrast to labourers, share-croppers, and youthful relatives who do the work) have at one time been urban migrants. Most of them obtained their land by prowess in trade, which enabled them to buy or "inherit" the land which they now control. These are only two examples of how the interpenetrating nature of communities in southern (at least Akan) Ghana, their dual rural-urban nature, must be considered before making policies affecting any sector.

It is an essential axiom that before planned changes in a community can be carried out, the existing institutions must be delineated. The approach used in the Obo study is useful in finding out what they are, and how they may or may not be adapted for further objectives. Quick,

short-term surveys result in a shallow understanding of the complexity of communities. Policy measures based on superficial observations often result in failure if not disaster. An example of the utility of the Obo study in avoiding mistakes resulting from those observations will demonstrate this.

One important feature of the extended Obo community is the dynamic interface between the young and old. This is manifested in the institutional relationships between voluntary (urban) youth associations and the Obo council of chief and elders. The dichotomy is further expressed in home-away residence, in conjugal-lineal relationships, and so on. Any individual may find himself on both sides of these classificatory boundaries through the course of his life. Now combine the desire for development to this structural feature. It is significant that Obo people recognize a desire or need for certain kinds of change; expressed publicly in terms of hometown technological improvements. The post office, roads, and schools were introduced to Obo during the historical period under study; electricity and a clinic came to Obo during the period of this research; water piped from the Afram will be reaching Obo while this is being written. These changes came about through the cooperation between the Obo Development Committee (representing age, the hometown, and the elders) and the Obo Youth Association (representing youth, the city, and the migrants). Fund-raising events exploit the desires for individual popularity, prestige, and ostentatious support of the community, and are usually scheduled for Easter and other festivities (often on an Akwasidae) through the year when migrants visit the hometown. Although the community is characterized by numerous tensions, jealousies, and conflicts of interests, these projects have been successfully funded and introduced. Left to themselves, Obo people have capitalized on those rivalries, and the competitive desires for popularity

(thought of as damaging, dysfunctional, or deleterious aspects of the community) and channelled their energy and wealth for funding projects determined to be for the common good of the community.

Whether or not a change is successfully introduced appears to be related to its origin, as seen by Obo people. If it is seen that an Obo person, or better yet a group (lineage or association) of Obo people, even those Obo people living outside Obo, are interested in a particular change, there is more likelihood that it will be accepted and receive support. If non-Obo people support a change, even those resident in Obo, it is less likely to be supported. The convincing of Obo people of the need for a particular change appears to be more effectively directed towards Obo migrants than Obo residents. When those migrants visit the hometown, and suggest the change, it appears to have originated within the dispersed community. When a stranger gives the same arguments to a resident, in contrast, the change is more apparently extra-community in origin. Changes introduced by "outside" agents are also less likely to succeed because they often overlook the complexities and tensions of the community. Changes introduced by strangers innocent of conflict face the danger of being torn apart in factional and partisan disputes.

Perhaps the most important social utility of the approach used in the Obo study is the recognition of the multi-dimensional complexity of the community. With it comes the recognition that simple and single answers to social problems and needs are doomed to diversion and corruption, if not to failure. Recognition of these tensions and complexities thus results in a recognition for the attribute of humility on the part of any development expert who must learn a lot from and about the people he wishes to change, before any advice he may give can be efficiently utilized. That was the major lesson learned by this researcher.

Table I:a

CALCULATING THE OBO EXTENDED COMMUNITY POPULATION FROM THE HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION SURVEY

	Occupied Houses[5]	Uninhabited Houses[2]	Total
Total number of houses[1]	670	352	1,022
Number of houses surveyed	168	23	191
Ratio: number/surveyed	3.9	15.3	
Number of migrants surveyed[3]	2,012	242	
Average: migrants/house	11.9	10.5	
Estimated number of migrants	8,024	3,704	11,728
Number of Accra migrants surveyed[4]	(660)	(38)	
Average: Accra migrants/house	(3.9)	(1.6)	
Estimated number of Accra migrants	(2,632)	(582)	(3,214)
Number of residents surveyed	1,159	-	
Average: residents/house	6.9	-	
Estimated number of Residents[6]	4,622	-	4,622
Total Extended Community[7]	12,646	3,704	16,350

Notes:

1. Habitable houses. Does not include churches, latrines, or collapsed, deserted or uncompleted houses that are uninhabitable. Statistic obtained from survey of all Obo buildings in 1973; total = 1,212.
2. Habitable houses (as above), including only those usually empty except for fetes and funerals. One quarter sample not obtained, even when migrants temporarily return, because of inebration or distress.
3. Number of Obo people who had slept in surveyed houses within past 5 years.
4. Number of Obo migrants to Accra; included in number of migrants (as 3 above).
5. Usually occupied houses in Obo. Some are empty during daytime when residents at school or farm. Interviews undertaken in evenings.
6. Usually resident population included some who went to Accra or villages for weekends or school vacations.
7. Community of Obo residents and migrants excluding those who think of themselves as Obo people but had not slept in an Obo house for over five years.

Table II:a

OBO AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION, 1911 - 1948, RESIDENT POPULATION

Percentages

Male	1911	1921	1931	1948
Age:				
0 - 5	20	25	26	21
6 - 15	27	28	31	40
16 - 45	25	36	34	28
46+	28	10	9	11
Males	100	100	100	100
Female				
Age:				
0 - 5	20	21	20	16
6 - 15	15	21	22	28
16 - 45	19	45	49	39
46+	16	13	9	17
Females	100	100	100	100
Percent Male	55	46	46	47

Sources:
Respective Gold Coast Census publications.

Table II:a

OBO AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION, 1911 - 1948, RESIDENT POPULATION

Numbers

Male	1911	1921	1931	1948
Age:				
0 - 5	1,120	444	226	360
6 - 15	1,467	490	276	691
16 - 45	1,406	636	303	487
46+	1,543	183	76	191
Males	5,536	1,753	881	1,729
Female				
Age:				
0 - 5	1,352	433	205	303
6 - 15	991	435	225	534
16 - 45	1,242	911	501	755
46+	1,037	268	81	336
Females	6,622	2,047	1,020	1,928
Total	10,158	3,800	1,901	3,657

Sources:
Respective Gold Coast Census publications.

Table II:b

OBO AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION, 1960 - 1970, RESIDENT POPULATION

	Numbers			Percentages	
Male	1960	1970		1960	1970
Age:					
0 - 1	60	68		3	3
1 - 4	290	301		17	12
5 - 9	270	451		15	18
10 - 14	247	461		14	19
15 - 24	232	515		13	21
25 - 44	293	368		17	15
45 - 64	192	199		11	8
65+	88	94		5	4
Males	1,672	2,457	Males	100	100
Female					
Age:					
0 - 1	78	65		3	2
1 - 4	309	275		13	10
5 - 9	343	456		15	16
10 - 14	244	464		11	16
15 - 24	296	478		13	17
25 - 44	551	528		24	18
45 - 64	344	365		15	13
65+	146	238		6	8
Females	2,311	2,871	Females	100	100
Total	3,983	5,328	Percent Male	42	46

Source:
Respective Ghana Census publications

Table II:c

TEN YEAR POPULATION RATES OF INCREASE 1960 - 1970

	Population		Percent Increase	Annual % Increase
	1960	1970		
Obo	3,983	5,328	34	3.1
Eastern Region	1,094,196	1,261,661	15	1.4
Accra	491,817	851,614	73	5.6
All Regions	6,426,815	8,557,313	27	2.4

Source:
Calculated from Ghana Government (1972)

Table II:d

1948 MIGRATION PATTERNS: OBO, NKAWKAW, AND ACCRA, BIRTHPLACES

Numbers

Birthplace	Obo		Nkawkaw		Accra	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Born in town	1,514	1,752	716	696	33,207	38,340
Born elsewhere in:						
Colony	142	128	1,155	1,263	14,826	12,508
Ashanti	32	25	140	84	2,099	1,194
Northern Territory	13	1	256	54	6,292	1,808
British Togo	19	16	89	81	3,758	2,771
Other British	3	4	151	117	4,314	2,355
Foreign	6	2	169	72	7,263	2,317
	1,729	1,928	2,676	2,367	71,759	61,433

Source:
1948 Census, Gold Coast Government (1950: 362), table 22

Table II:d

1948 MIGRATION PATTERNS: OBO, KNAWKAW, AND ACCRA, BIRTHPLACES

Percentages

Birthplace	Obo		Nkawkaw		Accra	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Born in town	88	91	27	29	46	63
Born elsewhere in:						
Colony	8	7	43	53	21	20
Ashanti	2	1	5	4	3	2
Northern Territories	1	-	10	2	9	3
British Togo	1	1	3	3	5	5
Other British	-	-	6	5	6	4
Foreign Countries	-	-	6	3	10	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
Calculated from 1948 Census, Gold Coast Government (1950: 362), table 22

Table II:e

1948 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE: OBO, NKAWKAW, AND ACCRA

	Obo		Nkawkaw		Accra	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Numbers:						
Less than a year	154	159	624	524	12,148	6,191
1 - 5 years	399	323	903	800	16,604	13,058
More than 5 years	1,176	1,146	1,149	1,043	43,007	42,179
	1,729	1,928	2,676	2,367	71,759	61,433
Percentages:						
Less than a year	9	8	23	22	17	10
1 - 5 years	23	17	34	34	23	21
More than 5 years	68	75	43	44	60	69
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
Calculated from 1948 Census, Gold Coast Government (1950: 362), table 22

Table II:f

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF KWAWU PEOPLE WITHIN THE GOLD COAST AND ASHANTI: 1948

Numbers

Eastern Province		Western Province		Northern Territories	
Kwawu and Akyem	67,287	Cape Coast	1,456	Gonja	44
New Dwaben, Akwapem	2,362	Wassaw	640	Dagomba	6
		Nzima, Ahanta	257	Mamprusi	1
	69,649	Sefwi	86		69
			2,439		
Asante		**Volta**		**Accra**	
Kumasi Metro	2,469	Keta, Ada	76	Accra	2,686
Kumasi South	304	Anlo North	608		
Kumasi North	447	Ho	331		
		Kratchie	16		
	3,459		1,031		
Brong Ahafo				Total Kwawu	79,313
Brong Ahafo	239				

Source:
Calculated from 1948 Census
Note:
Incorrect totals shown are those given in Census.

Table II:g

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF KWAWU PEOPLE IN GHANA

Region	Number of Kwawu People 1948	Number of Kwawu People 1960	Notes	Percent[3] Male	Percent[4] Urban
Eastern Region[1]	69,647	104,130	Region of origin	47	20
Accra Region	2,686	10,920	Major urban area	52	80
Ashanti Region	3,198	8,590	Most similar social structure, fairly urban, borders Kwawu	50	25
Western Region[2]	2,437*	3,840	Related social structure, fairly urban, further away	56	26
Brong Ahafo	239	2,748	Similar social structure, rural, further away	52	16
Volta Region	759	1,490	Different social structure, borders Kwawu, rural	53	13
Northern Regions	67	260	Very different culture, most distant, rural	62	8
Ghana Total	79,313	131,970		48	23

Source:
Gold Coast Census 1948. Ghana Census 1960. Special Report E, last column: Birmingham et al (1967:47) table 1:15

Notes:
1. Eastern Region in 1948 included Birim (K = 67, 285), and Akwapem Juaben (K = 2,262).
2. Western Region in 1948 included Ahanta Nzima (K = 257), Cape Coast (K = 1,456), Sefui (86) and Wassaw-Aowin(640)
3. Percent of Kwawu people who were male , 1960.
4. Percent of Kwawu people living in centres of over 5,000 population, 1960.

Table II:h

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF KWAWU WITHIN GHANA: 1960 CENSUS ENUMERATION AREAS

Numbers

Eastern Region	
South Kwawu	53,780
North Kwawu	38,500
New Dwaben	2,360
East Akyem Abuakwa	2,500
Western Akyem	1,980
West Akyem Abuakwa	1,460
South Akyem Abuakwa	1,020
Nsawam	800
Manya Yilo Osuduku	670
Oda Swedru	520
Akwapem	460
Akwamu Anum Bosu	70
Ada	10
	104,130

Northern and Upper	
Tamale	100
Kusasi	40
Western Gonja	20
Wala	20
Kasona	20
Tumu	20
Eastern Gonja	20
Nanumbu	10
Lawra	10
Frafra	10
Dagomba	-
Mamprusi	-
Builsa	-
	260

Western Region	
Swedru	850
Takoradi	670
Tarkwa	290
Wassa	280
Gomoa	250
C. Coast	220
Denkyira	200
Agona	180
Wiaso	170
Breman	130
Aowin	130
Asin	80
Mfantsiman	50
Ahanta	50
Nyakrom	50
Komenda	20
Nzima	20
	3,840

Brong Ahafo	
B.A. North	1,180
B.A. East	810
B.A. Central	380
B.A. South	280
Sunyani	90
	2,748

Ghana	
All Kwawu	131,970

Accra Region	
Accra Metro.	10,470
Tema	290
Ga, Shai	160
	10,920

Ashanti Region	
Kumasi East	4,770
Kumasi Metro.	1,900
Sekyere	530
Kumasi West	510
Obuasi	200
Kumasi South	180
Amansie	170
Adansi	170
Kumasi North	160
	8,590

Volta Region	
Buem Kratchie	1,040
Kpandu	240
Keta	80
Anlo North	80
Ho	50
Anlo South	-
Tongo	-
	1,490

Table II:i

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF DISPERSED OBO COMMUNITY: 1973 SURVEY SAMPLE

Numbers

Location	Males	Females	Total
In Obo	553	628	1,182
Rest of Region	492	654	1,145
Eastern Region	1,045	1,882	2,327
Accra Region	400	349	749
Ashanti Region	104	96	200
Brong Ahafo	21	24	45
Western Region	20	14	34
Volta Region	10	4	14
Northern and Upper	2	-	2
Outside Ghana	13	15	28
Unknown	9	3	12
Total Surveyed	1,646	1,798	3,444

Source:
Obo Household Composition Survey, 1973, One Quarter sample.

Table II:j

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF OBO COMMUNITY, SURVEYED ON ONE-QUARTER SAMPLE

Obo Migrants (visiting Obo) 1 Usually Resident in:

Obo Lands, Southern Portion	Males	Females	Total
Awiriya	14	17	31
Awenadi	9	20	29
Yaw Koko	11	11	22
Ampeyo	10	8	18
Ahantenan	5	12	17
Apradan	5	8	13
Kwatiesi	6	7	13
Kwawu Nsuta	4	8	12
Ampeha	4	7	11
Asona	7	4	11
Kwawu Saafi	6	5	11
Behinasi	5	3	8
Jamasi No. 2	4	3	7
Kwaman	2	4	6
Danten	3	1	4
Boadukrom	2	2	4
Essaase	-	3	3
Nkwatoo	1	2	3
Ataaso	-	2	2
Asikuma	-	2	2
Asamenya	2	-	2
Kyenkyenku	1	-	1
Breporo	-	1	1
Southern	101	130	231

Obo Lands, Western Portion	Males	Females	Total
Kwawu Praso	56	103	159
Osuben	29	22	51
Kwawu Mamfe	10	18	28
Formanso	7	7	14
Sukwa	4	7	11
Kwawu Akropong	5	3	8
Kofi Dede	-	5	5
Besease	-	4	4
MunaMuna	2	2	4
Kwasibaa	1	2	3
Banka	1	2	3
Koo Dum	1	2	3
Aprahwim	2	1	3
Ayiriwi	1	1	2
Mmoframadwen	1	1	2
Kontompa	1	1	2
Bonsukoda	1	1	2
Mframa	1	-	1
Daa Nyanso	1	-	1
Sefwi Asanweso	1	-	1
Atonso	-	1	1
Wirekyekrom	-	1	1
Western	125	182	310
Total Obo villages	226	314	540

Note:
1. These represent only Obo people who slept in Obo during previous 5 years, and surveyed in 1973. The populations of each of these villages are much bigger, 100 to 4,000 pop. Visits to these villages determined that they consist mainly of Obo people who if they visit Obo for funerals et cetera, return the same day.

Table II:j

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF OBO COMMUNITY, SURVEYED ON ONE-QUARTER SAMPLE

(Obo Migrants (visiting Obo) Usually Resident in:

Eastern Region, other than Kwawu	Males	Females	Total
Koforidua	23	28	51
Nsawam (Abuakwa)	13	9	22
Suhum	9	4	13
Tafo	2	5	7
Deku Jukwa	1	4	5
Kibi	3	-	3
Gyemakye	2	-	2
Adieso	1	-	1
Kukurantumi	1	-	1
Namkese	1	-	1
Nkisa	-	1	1
Akuase (Kotoku)	3	3	6
Afosu	1	3	4
Asamankese	2	2	4
Nyafoma	3	-	3
Akom	1	-	1
Aduwasena	1	-	1
Kade (Bosome)	3	4	7
Oda	1	2	3
Asuokan	1	2	3
Tinkon (Akwapem)	5	3	8
Aburi	2	-	2
Somanya (Krobo)	6	4	10
Ahieso Odumasi	3	-	3
Asutuwari	1	-	1
Akuse	-	1	1
Juapeon (Akwamu)	1	2	3
Akosombo	1	-	1
	93	78	171

Ashanti Region	Males	Females	Total
Kumasi	16	10	26
Bekwai	1	1	2
Mampong	1	1	2
Mamponten	8	3	11
Oyoko	1	-	1
Ejiso	1	-	1
Efiduase	-	1	1
Buankara	1	-	1
Biaso	1	-	1
Akrokeri (Adansi)	1	-	1
Adanse Jukwa	1	-	1
Rural Adanse	4	5	9
Akyeampo (As. Akyem)	13	11	24
Komeso	6	14	20
Obogu	11	7	18
Atwedee	8	9	17
Konongo	6	9	15
Bankome	5	3	8
Dampon	5	3	8
Ofoase	3	3	6
Asuoba	3	2	5
Takyikrom	4	2	6
Juaso	1	3	4
Banso	1	2	3
Agogo	1	1	2
Breku	-	2	2
Odube	1	1	2
Odomfe	-	1	1
Prasu	-	1	1
Domeabra	-	1	1
	104	96	200

Table II:j

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF OBO COMMUNITY, SURVEYED ON ONE-QUARTER SAMPLE

Central Region	Males	Females	Total
Agona Swedru	7	7	14
Bawjiase	2	1	3
Cape Coast	1	-	1
Winneba	-	1	1
	10	9	19
Brong Ahafo Region			
Nsare Ye	9	12	21
Goaso	1	1	2
Techiman	-	2	2
Wenchi	2	-	2
Hwidiem	1	-	1
Esi Nkyen	1	-	1
Kintampo	1	-	1
Sunyani	1	-	1
Unspecified	5	9	14
	21	24	45
Volta Region			
Jasikan	2	2	4
Kajebi	3	-	3
Anyarko	1	2	3
Ho	2	-	2
Aflao	1	-	1
Keta	1	-	1
	10	4	14
Northern and Upper			
Bolgatanga	1	-	1
Tamale	1	-	1
	2	-	2

Western Region	Males	Females	Total
Takoradi	7	9	16
Wassa	7	2	9
Tarkwa	1	2	3
Prestea	1	1	2
Anisuasi	2	-	2
Ayawora	1	-	1
Wiaso	1	-	1
	20	14	34
Accra Region			
Accra	378	333	711
Tema	22	16	38
	400	349	749
Eastern Region including known	1,045	1,282	2,327
Ghana except Eastern Region	579	498	1,077
Total Ghana	1,624	1,780	3,404
Other African Countries			
Abidjan	-	1	1
Abengouro	-	2	2
	-	3	3
Overseas			
London	3	4	7
Germany	2	1	3
New York	2	-	2
Washington	2	-	2
U.S.A. unspecified	2	-	2
Aburukyeri (unsp.)	2	7	9
	13	12	12
Whereabouts unknown	9	3	12
Total surveyed	1,646	1,798	3,444

Table II:j

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF OBO COMMUNITY, SURVEYED ON ONE-QUARTER SAMPLE

Obo Residents or Migrants (visiting Obo) Usually Resident in:

Southeastern Lowlands	Males	Females	Total
(Mpraeso, Atibie, Obomen)			
Krokrompe, Asuboni	3	3	6
Atuobikrom	5	6	11
Jejeti	2	1	3
Wusiwusi	3	3	6
Amenamu	3	2	5
Amanfrom	-	4	4
Nkwakwasem	2	-	2
Kwakudwara	1	-	1
Bepoase	-	1	1
Southeastern	19	20	39
Eastern Highlands			
(Nteso)			
Abowam	8	6	14
Ohemma	3	7	10
Asarekrom	-	5	5
Apesika	2	2	4
Meyewa	-	4	4
Ankoma	-	2	2
Bebuso	1	-	1
(Asakraka)			
Aframasi	1	-	1
(Bepong)			
Aserebesu	1	-	1
Kyekyehame	-	1	1
Eastern	16	27	43

Central Highland nucleous towns	Males	Females	Total
Mpraeso	3	6	9
Kwawu Tafo	5	4	9
Akwasiho	3	3	6
Abetifi	-	4	4
Atibie	1	2	3
Asakrako	1	1	2
Obomen	-	2	2
Aduamoa	-	2	2
Bepon	-	1	1
Nucleous	13	25	38
Nkawkaw	44	72	116
Urban other than Obo	57	97	154
Obo Residents			
Same house (surveyed)	542	643	1,165
Eating, sleeping elsewhere	10	4	14
Recently deceased	1	1	2
Obo	553	628	1,182
Rural Kwawu, non-Obo lands	129	161	290
Rural Kwawu incl. Obo lands	156	481	837
Total Kwawu	954	1,205	2,159

Source:
One-quarter sample of Obo residences, 1973, Household Composition Survey

Table II:j

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF OBO COMMUNITY, SURVEYED ON ONE-QUARTER SAMPLE

Obo Migrants (visiting Obo) Usually Resident in:

Afram Plains	Males	Females	Total
(Kwawu Tafo)[2]			
Worobong Dankwa	6	7	13
Brukuase	1	11	12
Aburaso	4	4	8
Amate	1	2	3
Nkyenenkyene	1	1	2
Hyiama Nkene	-	1	1
(Nkwatia)			
Samanhia	8	8	16
Bedeso	-	2	2
(Bukuruwa)			
Tease	4	4	8
Muradaa	2	1	3
Bonkorkrom	1	-	1
Adiemra	1	-	1
(Pitiko)			
Bome Sarfo	3	5	8
Bome Asare	2	-	2
Unspecified	12	14	26
Afram	46	60	106

Western Embayment[3]	Males	Females	Total
(Twinedurase)			
Pra River	24	31	55
Jamasi No. 1	2	2	4
Mpitri mpi	2	2	4
Kwawu Oda	2	1	3
(Aduamoa)			
Asuoya	1	2	3
Akuaboa	-	3	3
Adehyema	2	1	3
Suminakese	2	-	2
Kwawu Tarkwa	1	-	1
Mota	-	1	1
Sumoro	1	-	1
(Akwasiho)			
Tanokrom	-	2	2
Kwame Adjei	-	1	1
Asiliam	-	1	1
(Abene, Abetifi)			
Hwehwe	3	10	13
Kumkom	5	2	7
Abrewapon	2	-	2
Hwewohoden	1	-	1
Dwerebease	1	-	1
Western Embayment	48	57	115

Notes:

2. Names in parentheses refer to central nucleous Kwawu towns under which appear their respective lowland satellite villages.
3. Western lowland area of Kwawu bordering on Asante Akyem. Term used by Ofori (op.cit.)

Table II:k

POPULATION DENSITY IN KWAWU

Sub Region	Area in Square Miles	Population[4] 1960	Population Density
1 Old Nuclei[1]	121	37,319	308
2 Southwest Lowlands[2]	197	46,545	237
3 Low land Embayment[3]	125	12,453	100
4 Plateau East	219	12,983	59
5 North Scarpfoot Zone	131	5,888	44
6 Central Afram Plains	196	7,642	37
7 East Afram Plains	413	5,187	13
8 North Afram Plains	372	3,581	10
9 South Afram Plains	496	2,497	5
10 West Afram Plains	531	1,861	4

Source:
Ofori (1965:35) who coined the terms for the sub regions.
Notes:
1. Includes Obo and other stool towns.
2. Includes Obo satellite villages in southern portion.
3. Includes Obo satellite villages in western portion, purchased from Asante Akyem in nineteenth century.
4. Sub regional population statistics for 1970 are unavailable.

Table III:a

CONDITIONS OF ALL BUILDINGS IN OBO, 1973

	Asamenya	Pampaso	Ohantrase	Bronoso	New Town	Begoro	Total
Habited houses[1]	180	99	118	127	64	51	639
Habitable but empty	106	58	82	50	54	29	339
Total habitable	286	157	200	177	78	80	978
Uncompleted houses	31	18	16	19	30	17	131
Ruins[2]	28	22	10	12	-	-	72
Total uninhabitable	59	40	26	31	30	17	203
Total Residences	345	197	226	208	108	97	1,181
Functional buildings[3]	14	-	7	6	4	-	31
Total buildings	359	197	233	214	112	97	1,212

Source:
Compiled from 100% survey of all Obo buildings (preceding one-quarter sample for household composition survey).
Notes:
1. Including those unoccupied during day while occupants at school or farm.
2. Including partly collapsed buildings where some walls and roofs intact. Often housing livestock. Does not include totally ruined middens as found in lower parts of Begoro in former Zongo neighbourhood.
3. Non residential buildings such as churches, latrines, and a shed where arrested livestock are kept by the town council authorities until owners claim them.

Table III:b

MATERIAL OF SURVEYED HOUSES BY SEX AND RESIDENCE OF OWNERS

Numbers

	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total Surveyed	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unpainted Swish[1]	1	3	2	7	-	-	-	-	2	9
Painted Swish	4	11	13	3	3	-	2	-	24	14
Swish	5	14	15	10	3	-	2	-	26	23
Unpainted Cement	2	4	11	2	1	-	2	-	16	6
Painted Cement	5	14	30	5	11	6	12	5	60	30
Cement	7	18	41	7	12	6	14	5	76	36
Unpainted Swish and Cement	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Painted Swish and Cement	4	4	7	2	1	-	1	-	13	6
Swish and Cement	4	4	8	2	1	-	2	-	15	6
Total Owners	16	35	64	19	16	6	19	5	118	65
	51		83		22		24		183	

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Note:
1. Sun baked clay bricks

Table III:b

MATERIAL OF SURVEYED HOUSES BY SEX AND RESIDENCE OF OWNERS

Percentages

	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total Surveyed	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Swish	27	37	23	53	18	-	11	-	22	36
Cement	47	52	54	37	75	100	74	100	63	56
Swish and Cement	27	11	12	11	6	-	11	-	13	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Note:
"Owner" is a translation of fiewura (house master). No distinction was made between those building and those inheriting a house, nor between those owning a house outright and those holding it in trust for their lineage.

Table III:c

MATERIAL OF HOUSES VISITED OR RESIDENT IN BY OBO MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS

Numbers

Construction Material	Resident in Obo	Migrants visiting Obo from: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
Unpainted Swish	39	48	4	14	105
Painted Swish	226	246	82	144	705
Swish	265	294	86	158	810
Unpainted Cement	91	148	25	59	325
Painted Cement	661	508	182	361	1,734
Cement	752	656	207	420	2,059
Unpainted Cement & Swish	15	12	8	18	46
Painted Cement & Swish	145	183	66	110	505
Cement and Swish	160	195	74	128	551
Total persons surveyed	1,180	1,147	364	711	3,439

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table III:c

MATERIAL OF HOUSES VISITED OR RESIDENT IN BY OBO MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS

Percentages

	Resident in Obo	Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
Swish	22	25	24	22	24
Cement	64	57	57	59	60
Cement and Swish	14	17	18	18	16
	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One-quarter sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
This table excludes 12 persons whose whereabouts were unknown to informants in surveyed houses.
Material refers to material of construction of Obo houses surveyed, which migrants visit in Obo.
This table excludes 3 residents and 13 migrants from a house constructed mainly of wood.

Table III:d

NUMBER OF BEDROOMS OF SURVEYED HOUSES BY RESIDENCE OF OWNERS

Numbers

Number of Bed Rooms	Resident in Obo	Usually Resident In			Total Surveyed
		Villages	Towns	Accra	
1	2	4	-	-	6
2	-	3	-	1	4
3	15	10	2	2	30
4	8	13	3	3	27
5	4	15	-	5	24
6	5	9	5	3	24
7	4	2	1	-	7
8	2	4	4	2	13
9	3	2	1	2	8
10	2	6	-	1	9
11	1	3	1	2	7
12	2	3	-	2	7
More	3	8	-	-	15
Total	51	82	23	23	182

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table III:e

NUMBER OF STORIES OF SURVEYED HOUSES, BY RESIDENCE OF HOUSE OWNERS

Numbers

	Resident in Obo	Usually Resident In			Total Surveyed
		Villages	Towns	Accra	
One storey	41	68	17	12	140
Two stories	9	13	5	12	40
Three stories	1	2	-	-	3
Total	51	83	22	24	183

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Note:
For comparative purposes to determine rate of growth, only Carlick (1967:476) is available. He counted 107 completed cement houses in 1960, of which 83 had two stories and one had three stories. Six other buildings were not completed. In December 1961 he checked to find 46 of these houses had been completed before 1948 ("looting time").

Table III:f

SIZE OF HOUSES, NUMBER OF RESIDENTS

Residents per House	Residents	Percent	Houses[1]
1	11	1	11
2	32	3	16
3	36	3	12
4	104	9	26
5	75	6	15
6	78	7	12
7	105	9	15
8	80	7	10
9	162	14	18
10	60	5	6
11	55	5	5
12	84	7	7
13	52	4	4
14	28	2	2
15	60	5	4
16+	212	18	23
Total[1]	1181	100	186

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.
Note:
1. Includes houses whose owners whereabouts are unknown to Obo informants and whose owners are recently deceased.

Table III:g

NUMBER OF RESIDENTS BY RESIDENCE OF HOUSE OWNERS

Residents per House	Usual Location of House Owners			
	Obo	Villages	Towns	Accra
1	3	4	-	1
2	3	8	4	-
3	4	4	1	3
4	4	11	4	3
5	6	4	4	1
6	5	9	-	3
7	6	5	1	2
8	6	3	-	1
9	4	8	3	2
10	2	1	-	3
11	2	2	-	-
12	-	2	2	1
13	3	1	-	-
14	-	1	-	-
15	1	1	-	1
16+	2	16	2	3
Total[1]	51	82	21	23

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.
Note:
1. Includes houses whose owners whereabouts are unknown to Obo informants and whose owners are recently deceased.

Table III:h

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF HABITABLE RESIDENCES BY RESIDENCE OF OWNERS

Numbers

Economic Functions	Resident Owners	Migrant Owners Visiting Obo, Usually Resident In: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Houses	Number of Residents
Provisions store	1	2	-	1	4	90
Occasionally store	1	3	-	-	4	43
Cooked food sold	1	2	-	1	4	59
Occasionally sold	1	2	-	-	4	44
Vegetables sold	-	1	-	-	1	16
Occasionally sold	2	-	-	-	2	22
Fish sold	-	1	-	-	1	17
Beer, spirits sold	-	-	1	-	1	21
Akpeteshi sold	1	2	-	-	3	16
Palm wine sold	2	1	-	1	4	22
Tailor, seamstress	-	1	1	1	3	10
Carpentry	-	3	-	-	3	19
Goats, sheep, raised	4	1	-	1	6	53
	15	17	2	5	40	431

Table III:h

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF HABITABLE HOUSES BY RESIDENCE OF OWNERS (Concluded)

Numbers

	Resident Owners	Migrant Owners Visiting Obo, Usually Resident In: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Houses	Number of Residents
Religious, Educational						
School rooms	1	-	-	-	1	2
Shrine, deity, rites	4	1	-	-	5	39
Shrine plus alcohol sales	-	-	-	-	1	7
Shrine plus vegetables sold	1	-	-	-	1	13
Stool house	2	2	-	-	4	17
Christian meetings	1	-	-	-	1	7
Total Functions						
Economic	15	17	2	5	40	431
Religious, Educational	9	3	-	13	13	85
Residential only	28	61	20	133	133	664
	50	83	22	186	186	1,181

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table III:1

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES, COMPARISON OF KWAWU AND GHANA POPULATIONS (AGED 15 AND OVER)

Numbers

Activities	Kwawu			Ghana		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Employed	24,860	22,740	47,600	1,573,170	987,870	2,561,040
Unemployed	1,720	1,140	2,860	109,560	54,250	163,810
Home makers	200	9,580	9,780	11,480	678,160	689,640
Students and Vocational trainees	3,630	1,190	4,820	122,580	33,990	156,570
Disabled	640	1,000	1,640	62,570	85,320	147,890
Voluntarily Unemployed	40	50	90	2,560	1,290	3,850
Others	110	-	110	7,520	360	7,880
All Activities	31,200	35,700	66,900	1,889,440	1,841,240	3,730,680

Table III:1

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES, COMPARISON OF KWAWU AND GHANA POPULATIONS (AGES 15 AND OVER)

Percentages

	Kwawu			Ghana		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Employed	80	64	71	83	54	69
Unemployed	6	3	4	6	3	4
Homemakers	1	27	15	1	37	19
Students, trainees	12	3	7	7	2	4
Disabled	2	3	3	3	5	4
Voluntarily unemployed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0
All activities	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
Calculated from 1960 Ghana Census, Special Report E, table 22, pp. 99 - 100.

Table III:j

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES, COMPARISON OF OBO RESIDENT AND VISITING MIGRANT POPULATIONS (AGE 15 AND OVER)

Numbers

	Obo Residents	Obo Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total
Employed	385	820	213	459	1,892
Unemployed	37	42	7	34	122
Home makers	13	5	27	38	82
Students and Vocational trainees	126	49	30	43	256
Disabled	8	3	1	-	12
Voluntarily unemployed	14	2	-	-	16
Others	4	7	15	26	65
All activities	587	928	293	600	2,445

Table III:j

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES, COMPARISON OF OBO RESIDENTS AND VISITING MIGRANTS (AGES 15 AND OVER)

Percentages

	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
Employed	66	88	73	77	77
Unemployed	6	5	2	6	5
Homemakers	2	1	9	6	3
Students, trainees	22	5	10	7	11
Disabled	1	0	0	-	1
Voluntarily unemployed	2	-	-	-	1
Others	1	1	5	4	3
All activities	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table III:k

COMPARISON OF KWAWU AND GHANA POPULATIONS, MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS

Numbers

	Kwawu			Ghana		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Professional, Technical	1,320	310	1,630	48,300	11,720	60,020
Administrative, executive	310	10	320	12,670	430	13,100
Clerical workers	1,220	140	1,360	40,170	3,010	43,180
Sales workers	2,240	4,170	6,410	67,810	278,540	346,350
Farmers, fishermen, hunters	14,350	15,000	19,350	987,740	573,990	1,561,730
Miners, quarrymen	60	10	70	31,970	1,870	33,840
Transport and Communication	1,620	30	1,650	51,130	1,230	52,360
Craftsmen, Production workers	3,410	2,560	5,970	294,420	101,520	395,540
Service, Sports, Recreation, Housekeepers, maids	330	510	840	38,960	15,560	53,920
	24,860	22,740	47,600	1,573,170	987,870	2,581,040

Table III:k

COMPARISON OF KWAWU AND GHANA POPULATIONS, MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS

Percentages

	Kwawu			Ghana		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Professional, technical	5	1	3	3	1	2
Administrative, executive	1	-	1	1	-	1
Clerical workers	5	1	3	3	-	2
Sales workers	9	18	14	4	28	14
Farmers, fishermen, hunters	58	66	41	63	58	6
Miners, quarrymen	-	-	-	2	-	1
Transport, Communication	7	-	4	3	-	2
Craftsmen	14	11	13	19	10	15
Service, Sports, Recreation, Housekeepers, maids	1	2	2	3	2	2
All occupations	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
1960 Census of Ghana, Special Report E., table 25, p. 111.

Table III:1

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF DISPERSED OBO COMMUNITY

Numbers

	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Visiting From: Accra	Elsewhere	Total Surveyed
Professional, technical	21	13	31	65
Administrative, executive managerial	-	12	9	20
Clerical	1	42	25	68
Sales	79	269	141	490
Farmers, fishers, hunters	202	47	686	935
Transport, Communications	25	32	23	80
Craftsmen, process, labourers	76	85	78	239
Service, sports, recreation	2	15	12	29
Total Employed	406	515	1,005	1,926

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table III:1

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF DISPERSED OBO COMMUNITY

Percentages

	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Visiting From: Accra	Elsewhere	Total
Professional, technical	5	3	3	3
Administrative, executive, managerial	-	2	1	1
Clerical	-	8	3	4
Sales	20	52	14	25
Farmers, fishers, hunters	50	9	68	49
Transport, communications	6	6	2	4
Craftsmen, process, labourers	19	17	8	12
Service, sports, recreation	1	3	1	2
Total employed	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table III:m

ACTIVITIES AND OCCUPATIONS OF OBO MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS

Numbers

	Obo Residents	Migrants from Accra	Migrants from Elsewhere	All
Professional etc.				
Engineers	-	-	2	2
Nurses	-	3	2	5
Doctors	-	1	-	1
Dispensers	-	3	-	3
Med. aides	-	1	-	1
Herbalists	-	1	1	3
Clergymen	1	-	-	1
Akomfo	9	-	1	10
Prim. Sch. Teachers	4	3	15	22
Mid. Sch. Teachers	4	-	7	11
Sec. Sch. Teachers	2	1	1	4
Voc. Sch. Teachers	-	-	2	2
	21	13	31	65
Transport				
Taxi drivers	5	12	3	20
Lorry drivers	18	12	14	44
School bus	1	5	3	9
Chauffer	1	2	1	4
Locomotive	-	1	2	3
	25	32	23	80

	Obo Residents	Migrants from Accra	Migrants from Elsewhere	All
Clerical				
Hotel clerks	-	-	1	1
Postal clerks	-	1	2	3
Civil Service	-	4	9	13
Typists	1	28	12	41
Bank clerks	-	8	-	8
Bookmen	-	1	1	2
	1	42	25	68
Farmers etc.				
Farm managers	139	30	403	572
Cocoa + cash	57	17	278	352
Livestock, poultry	-	-	1	1
Agric. labourers	2	-	2	4
Palm wine tappers	4	-	2	6
	202	47	730	935
Administrative etc.				
Civil Service	-	6	4	10
Accountants	-	3	1	4
Govt. Corp. Man.	-	1	3	4
Fact. Supervisors	-	2	-	2
	-	12	9	20

/Continued

Table III:m

MAJOR ACTIVITIES AND OCCUPATIONS OF OBO MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS (Continued)

Numbers

	Obo Residents	Migrants from Accra	Migrants from Elsewhere	All
Sales				
General retail	1	11	10	22
Second hand clothing	2	14	9	25
Cloth	5	22	11	38
Dishes	-	2	-	2
Petrol	-	1	-	1
Alcohol	9	5	3	17
Prov. Kiosk	-	4	1	5
Street stall	5	11	8	24
Market stall	18	6	18	42
Market table	1	16	9	26
Chop bar	1	3	1	5
Street, food	12	3	3	18
Fish	5	-	5	10
Hawking	2	14	5	21
Contractors	1	1	-	2
Canvassers	1	3	-	4
Importers	-	1	-	1
Wholesale/Retail	8	76	29	113
Store Managers	-	6	1	7
Storekeepers	1	10	5	16
Store assistants	2	43	17	63
Lottery agents	-	15	3	18
Part time vender	5	2	3	11
	79	269	141	490

	Obo Residents	Migrants from Accra	Migrants from Elsewhere	All
Craftsmen				
Tailors etc.	41	55	52	148
Cobblers	1	5	-	6
Goldsmiths	-	2	1	3
Blacksmiths	-	-	1	1
Welders	-	4	-	4
Electricians	1	1	-	2
Wireless	1	-	2	3
Auto Fitters	-	2	3	5
Carpenters	12	-	-	12
Pointers	3	1	-	4
Masons	8	-	1	9
Construction	3	-	-	3
Potters	-	-	1	1
Bakers	1	-	3	4
Akpeteshi	-	-	2	2
Photographers	2	-	2	4
Lab. Assistants	-	1	5	6
Barbers, Hair	1	2	1	4
Semi skilled factory	-	4	2	6
Unskilled factory	2	8	2	12
	76	85	78	239

/Continued

Table III:m

MAJOR ACTIVITIES AND OCCUPATIONS OF OBO MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS (Concluded)

Service	Obo Residents	Migrants from Accra	Migrants from Elsewhere	All
Police	-	5	4	9
Navy	-	1	1	2
Army	-	3	2	5
Firemen	-	2	-	2
Musicians	-	1	1	2
Cooks	1	1	-	2
Maids	1	2	4	7
	2	15	12	29

Activities	Obo Residents	Migrants from Accra	Migrants from Elsewhere	All
Employed	406	515	1,005	1,926
Unemployed, Ret. Pre school	247	83	178	508
Homemakers	13	38	31	82
Students	507	106	236	849
Unknown	4	30	36	70
Total	771	257	481	1,509

Table III:n

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF OBO HOUSE OWNERS BY RESIDENCE

Numbers

	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Usually Resident In: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed	Percent Male
Unemployed, Retired	8	1	-	1	10	60
Farming	29	70	5	-	106	58
Trading	5	6	13	21	46	76
Blue Collar	2	1	1	1	5	100
Medical, Religious	5	1	1	1	8	63
Unknown	1	3	2	-	9	80
	50	83	22	24	186	65

Table III:n

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF OBO HOUSE OWNERS BY RESIDENCE

Percentages

	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Usually Resident In: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
Unemployed, Retired	16	1	-	4	5
Farming	58	84	23	-	57
Trading	10	7	59	88	25
Blue Collar	4	1	5	4	3
Medical, Religious	10	1	5	4	4
Unknown	2	4	9	-	3
	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey

Note:
Total surveyed includes one recently deceased owner for whom no successor was found, four owners the whereabouts informants in their respective houses were unable to state, and nine owners whose occupations were unknown to the residents.

Rounded to nearest whole number, so totals may differ.

Table III:o

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF HOUSE OWNERS BY AGE AND SEX

Numbers

	Unempl.(Retired)		Farming		Trading	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age:						
30 - 34	-	-	1	1	1	-
35 - 39	-	-	-	-	-	3
40 - 44	-	-	-	2	4	1
45 - 49	-	-	-	2	1	1
50 - 54	-	-	5	3	5	4
55 - 59	-	-	7	4	1	-
60 - 64	-	-	10	8	7	1
65 +	6	1	35	24	13	1
Unknown	1	3	3	1	3	-
	7	4	61	45	35	11

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

/Continued

Table III:o

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF HOUSE OWNERS BY AGE AND SEX (concluded)

Numbers

	Blue Collar		Medico-Religious		Unknown	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age:						
30 - 34	-	-	2	-	-	-
35 - 39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40 - 44	1	-	-	-	-	-
45 - 49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 - 54	3	-	-	-	-	-
55 - 59	-	-	-	-	1	-
60 - 64	-	-	1	-	-	-
65 +	1	-	2	3	1	2
Unknown	-	-	-	-	3	-
	5	-	5	3	5	2

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table III:p

SALES WORKERS, MERCHANTS, TRADERS, OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS, BY AGE AND SEX

Numbers

Ages	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting From: Villages		Towns		Accra		Totals[2]	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
15 - 19	-	3	2	-	1	1	2	3	5	7
20 - 24	1	3	1	7	3	6	10	16	15	32
25 - 29	1	6	-	3	4	7	18	17	23	33
30 - 34	1	10	3	5	1	9	12	21	17	45
35 - 39	1	6	2	3	1	10	15	21	19	40
40 - 44	-	9	2	4	3	5	8	13	13	31
45 - 49	1	12	-	3	3	2	8	17	12	34
50 - 54	-	3	3	5	4	4	8	9	15	21
55 - 59	-	3	-	-	3	5	6	2	9	10
60 - 64	3	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	10	11
65+	1	4	1	-	5	1	11	1	18	6
Totals[1]	12	66	18	37	6	7	120	17	187	301

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.
Notes:
1. Includes persons whose ages were unknown to informants.
2. Includes persons whose whereabouts were unknown to informants.

Table III:p

SALES WORKERS, MERCHANTS, TRADERS, OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS BY AGE AND SEX

Percentages

Ages	Resident in Obo		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo Usually Resident In: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total Surveyed	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
15 - 19	-	5	11	-	3	2	2	2	3	2
20 - 24	8	5	6	19	8	10	8	12	8	11
25 - 29	8	9	-	8	11	12	15	12	12	11
30 - 34	8	15	17	14	3	15	10	15	9	15
35 - 39	-	9	11	8	3	17	13	15	2	13
40 - 44	8	14	11	11	8	9	7	9	7	10
45 - 49	-	18	-	8	8	3	7	12	6	11
50 - 54	-	5	17	14	11	7	7	7	8	7
55 - 59	-	5	-	-	8	9	5	1	5	3
60 - 64	25	8	11	5	6	3	2	1	5	4
65+	8	6	6	-	14	2	9	1	10	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.
Note:
Totals include persons whose age or whereabouts are unknown to informants.

Table III:q

FARMERS, HUNTERS, FISHERMEN, OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS, BY AGE AND SEX

Numbers

	Obo Residents		Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages		Towns		Accra		Totals	
Ages	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
15 - 19	6	13	4	12	1	2	-	4	11	31
20 - 24	1	11	18	30	-	4	-	4	19	50
25 - 29	1	11	17	31	-	2	-	6	19	50
30 - 34	5	13	36	36	1	3	-	8	42	61
35 - 39	1	10	29	40	2	7	-	8	33	65
40 - 44	3	12	29	32	-	3	-	4	32	52
45 - 49	4	10	17	44	-	2	-	2	21	58
50 - 54	2	16	17	44	3	1	-	-	22	61
55 - 59	-	15	20	23	-	3	1	-	22	41
60 - 64	1	14	20	19	2	3	-	-	22	36
65+	8	42	41	37	1	2	-	-	51	81
Totals	38	177	296	411	10	36	1	40	349	668

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.
Note:
Totals include persons whose ages and whereabouts were unknown to informants.

Table III:q

FARMERS, HUNTERS, FISHERMEN, OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS, BY AGE AND SEX

Percentages

	Resident in Obo		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo, Usually Resident In: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total Surveyed	
Ages	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
15 - 19	16	7	1	3	10	6	-	10	3	5
20 - 24	3	6	6	7	-	11	-	10	5	8
25 - 29	3	6	6	8	-	6	-	15	5	8
30 - 34	13	7	12	9	10	8	-	20	12	9
35 - 39	3	6	10	10	20	19	-	20	10	10
40 - 44	8	7	10	8	-	8	-	10	9	8
45 - 49	11	6	6	11	-	6	-	5	6	9
50 - 54	5	9	6	11	30	3	-	-	6	9
55 - 59	-	9	7	6	-	8	100	-	6	6
60 - 64	3	8	7	5	10	8	-	-	6	5
65+	21	24	14	9	10	6	-	-	15	12
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.
Note:
Totals include persons whose age or whereabouts were unknown to informants.

Table III:r

CRAFTSMEN, PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORT WORKERS, OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS, BY AGE AND SEX

Numbers

Ages	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages		Towns		Accra		Totals[2]	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
15 - 19	4	11	1	3	3	1	3	6	11	21
20 - 24	12	9	3	7	2	7	8	12	25	36
25 - 29	13	5	3	7	4	8	17	9	37	29
30 - 34	11	2	1	2	5	2	7	8	24	14
35 - 39	11	3	3	4	1	-	9	2	24	9
40 - 44	9	-	1	1	3	2	5	3	18	6
45 - 49	2	-	2	-	2	-	3	1	9	1
50 - 54	4	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	7	1
55 - 59	1	-	1	-	0	-	0	1	2	1
60 - 64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65+	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	5	-
Total[1]	70	32	18	25	24	25	59	48	171	131

Notes:
1. Includes persons whose ages are unknown.
2. Includes persons whose whereabouts are unknown.

Table III:r

CRAFTSMEN, PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORT WORKERS, OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS, BY AGE AND SEX

Percentages

Ages	Resident in Obo		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo Usually Resident In: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total Surveyed	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
15 - 19	6	34	6	12	13	4	5	13	6	16
20 - 24	17	28	17	28	8	28	14	25	15	28
25 - 29	19	16	17	28	17	32	29	19	22	22
30 - 34	16	6	6	8	21	8	12	17	14	11
35 - 39	16	9	17	16	4	-	15	4	14	7
40 - 44	13	-	6	4	13	8	9	7	11	5
45 - 49	3	-	11	-	8	-	5	2	5	1
50 - 54	6	-	6	-	4	-	2	2	4	1
55 - 59	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	2	1	1
60 - 64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65+	1	-	6	-	4	-	3	-	3	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.
Note:
Totals include persons whose age or whereabouts were unknown to informants.

Table III:s

EIGHT DAY[1] RECORD OF SELLERS IN OBO MARKET[2]

Numbers

Type of Sales	Total Number of Sellers 3	Number Present in Obo Market On: Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
A. Vegetables only[4]	50	20	21	19	18	24	12	15	16
B. Vegetables and meat[5]	12	4	5	3	5	7	7	5	7
C. Meat 6	19	13	6	6	8	9	6	2	7
D. Cooked Food[7]	13	7	7	11	10	6	8	6	3
E. Non perishables[8]	9	4	9	-	2	3	1	8	-
Total	103	48	48	39	43	49	34	36	33

1. Observed from Thursday 27 September 1973 to Thursday 4 October 1973.
2. Observations took place between 8 a.m. and 10 a.m. each morning, the busiest time for market activity.
3. A seller was considered to be an adult who sold an item. Children who occasionally helped were not counted. One cooked food stall was tended by a child when the woman responsible for it was absent and was counted as if the woman was present. The total number includes all the different sellers who appeared only during the eight days of observation.
4. A= Vegetables included single items or combinations of: garden eggs, tomatoes, pepper, beans, onions, yam, cassava, plantain, palm oil, okro, groundnuts, cocoyam leaves, krobonko (a relative of the cucumber that is cooked), cassava flour, and avocadoes. On Friday one woman added plastic sandals to her wares but is included here. All sellers were female.
5. B= Vegetables and meat included combinations of: smoked, or dried fish (mpataa, akwaabi, bofuru, koobi, bomoni = stinkfish), dried snails or bush meat (usually grass cutter or venison), with beans, onions, tomatoes, cocoyam leaves, cassava, yam, plantain and garden eggs. Only the woman sold more than two vegetables with the meat. All sellers were female.
6. C= Meat included single items or combinations of: dried or smoked snails (hwadwen, webte), smoked or dried fish (Emman, Anofiaw) and broken dried fish (Adwn). One Muslim man came from Mpraeso to sell beef on Friday. All other sellers were female.
7. D= Cooked food included combinations of: Ga, Fanti, or Kwawu Kenkey (one woman also sold some raw vegetables) with pepper sauce and small fried fish, or Rice and Gari (also with a few raw vegetables). All sellers were female.
8. E= Non perishables included dishes, beads, earrings, erasers, tapes, mirrors, handkerchiefs, singlets, cups, towels, balls, spoons, combs, pens, zippers, talcumpowder, thread, rope, salt, tinned milk, lamps, safety pins, plastic sandals, cloth, pomade and brooms. These sellers were women. The category also included a general fix it man and tailor who repaired and sold rubber sandals made from lorry tires (Thurs. only), a lamp repairer (every day but Fri.). These three plus the Friday beef seller were the only males, apart from two or three boys who hurry around with no immediately apparent occupation.

Table III:s

EIGHT DAY RECORD OF SELLERS IN OBO MARKET

Percentages

Type of Sales	Total	Percent Participation of All Sellers in Obo Market On: Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
A. Vegetables only	100	40	42	38	36	48	24	30	32
B. Vegetables and meat	100	33	42	25	42	58	58	42	58
C. Meat only	100	68	32	32	42	47	32	11	37
D. Cooked food	100	54	54	85	77	46	62	46	23
E. Non perishables	100	44	100	-	22	33	11	89	-
Total	100	47	47	38	42	48	33	35	32

Source:
Calculated from table III:s

	Total	Percent Participation by Day of Each Type of Seller: Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
A. Vegetables only	49	42	44	49	42	49	35	42	48
B. Vegetables and meat	12	8	10	8	12	14	21	14	21
C. Meat only	18	27	13	15	19	18	18	6	21
D. Cooked food	13	15	15	28	23	12	24	17	9
E. Non perishable	9	8	19	-	5	6	3	22	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
Calculated from table III:s

Table IV:a

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF OBO RESIDENTS AND OBO MIGRANTS VISITING OBO

Numbers

Ages	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total[2]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	75	61	27	33	9	9	21	14	132	119
5 - 9	110	97	38	40	12	9	18	15	178	161
10 - 14	138	113	44	38	13	19	25	18	221	188
15 - 19	90	84	28	38	20	14	26	30	164	167
20 - 24	20	32	33	53	18	23	49	48	123	159
25 - 29	21	22	26	48	20	19	61	42	133	134
30 - 34	21	25	44	45	19	15	34	42	120	130
35 - 39	17	20	39	50	7	17	35	33	101	122
40 - 44	17	23	32	37	12	10	20	21	83	93
45 - 49	7	24	21	48	6	4	15	20	49	96
50 - 54	7	21	22	49	10	5	11	11	50	86
55 - 59	4	18	21	23	7	8	8	3	41	52
60 - 64	4	21	23	21	4	5	2	2	34	49
65+	17	58	47	39	7	3	14	2	86	102
Totals[1]	553	628	509	639	184	180	378	333	1,646	1,798

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
1. Includes 271 persons whose ages were unknown to Obo informants.
2. Includes 25 persons overseas and 12 persons whose whereabouts were unknown to Obo informants.

Table IV:a

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF OBO RESIDENTS AND OBO MIGRANTS VISITING OBO

Percentages

Ages	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages		Towns		Accra		Totals[2]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	14	10	5	5	5	5	6	4	8	7
5 - 9	20	15	8	6	7	5	5	5	11	9
10 - 14	25	18	9	6	7	11	7	5	13	11
15 - 19	16	13	6	6	11	8	7	9	10	9
20 - 24	4	5	7	8	10	13	13	14	8	9
25 - 29	4	4	5	8	11	11	16	13	8	8
30 - 34	4	4	9	7	10	8	9	13	7	7
35 - 39	3	3	8	8	4	9	9	10	6	7
40 - 44	3	4	6	6	7	6	5	6	5	5
45 - 49	1	4	4	8	3	2	4	6	3	5
50 - 54	1	3	4	8	5	3	3	3	3	5
55 - 59	1	3	4	4	4	4	2	1	3	3
60 - 64	1	3	5	3	2	3	1	1	2	3
65+	3	10	9	6	4	2	4	1	5	6
Totals[1]	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N.	553	628	509	639	184	180	378	333	1646	1798

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
1. Includes 271 persons whose ages were unknown.
2. Includes 25 persons overseas and 12 persons whose whereabouts were unknown to Obo informants.

Table IV:b

STUDENTS RESIDENT IN OBO RECORDED ON HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION SURVEY

Numbers

Ages[1]	Anglican[2]	Presby A[2]	Presby B[2]	Roman C[3]	Method.[3]	Comm.	Obo Sec.	Kwawu R.
5 - 9	43	32	18	17	7	-	-	-
10 - 14	66	51	36	40	9	1	-	-
15 - 19	32	27	14	5	-	22	2	3
Education Achieved:								
Some Primary	71	57	40	32	11	-	-	-
Class 4 - 6	10	15	7	4	2	-	-	-
Some Middle	44	31	21	22	3	-	-	-
Form 4	18	8	1	-	-	-	-	-
Some Commercial	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-
Some Secondary	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Religious Affiliation:								
Mission Church	115	86	53	45	14	18	2	3
Apostolic Church	8	8	1	3	-	5	-	1
Spiritualist	3	7	9	6	-	1	-	-
None	11	7	1	3	-	1	1	-
Abosom	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Unknown	5	5	4	4	4	-	-	-
Surveyed	143	111	69	62	16	25	3	4

Source:
Obo Household Composition Survey, 1973.

Notes:
1. Three Commercial Students were aged 20 - 24.
2. Primary and Middle Schools.
3. Primary School plus two years of Middle School only (1973).

Table IV:c

OBO STUDENT RESIDENTS AND VISITING MIGRANTS BY AGE AND SEX

Numbers

Ages[1]	Resident in Obo		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo from: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total[2] Surveyed	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	1	1	2	3	-	1	-	-	3	5
5 - 9	73	74	21	17	8	4	11	10	113	105
10 - 14	129	103	35	31	12	17	25	16	202	167
15 - 19	72	45	14	13	13	8	13	12	112	79
20+	7	2	3	3	6	2	11	3	34	10
Totals[1]	282	225	83	75	40	32	62	43	475	376
Percentages										
0 - 4	+	0	+	4	-	3	-	-	1	1
5 - 9	26	33	25	23	20	13	18	23	24	28
10 - 14	46	46	42	41	30	53	40	37	43	44
15 - 19	26	20	17	17	33	25	21	28	24	21
20+	2	1	4	4	15	6	18	7	6	3
Totals[1]	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
1. Includes persons whose ages are unknown.
2. Includes persons whose whereabouts are unknown.

Table IV:d

POST MIDDLE SCHOOLS, OBO, NUMBERS OF STUDENTS

Numbers

	Central College of Commerce		Obo Secondary Commercial (Kwawu Ridge Secondary)		Obo Secondary (Primate)		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Form One								
Males	38		45		7		90	
Females		21		18		1		40
Form Two								
Males	37		52		8		97	
Females		21		10		2		33
Form Three								
Males	5		-		1		6	
Females		5		-		1		6
Form Four								
Males	-		-		2		2	
Females		-		-		4		4
Total								
Males	80		97		18		195	
Females		47		28		8		83

Source:
School Survey, Obo, March 1973.

Table IV:e

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACHIEVED OR ATTENDING, ALL AGES, OBO RESIDENTS AND VISITING MIGRANTS

Numbers

Education	Obo Resident	Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
None	523	755	155	225	1,666
Primary	350	137	38	87	612
Middle	255	226	121	281	897
Commercial	32	7	11	50	101
Teacher Training	7	8	7	3	26
Secondary	8	8	16	38	73
University	2	1	4	12	26
Totals[1]	1,180	1,148	364	710	3,444

Percentages

None	44	66	43	32	48
Primary	30	12	10	12	18
Middle	22	20	33	40	26
Commercial	3	1	3	7	3
Teacher Training	1	1	2	-	1
Secondary	1	1	4	5	2
University	0	0	1	2	1
Totals[1]	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Note:
1. Totals include 11 vocational school students (6 in Accra), 6 Post Secondary teachers, and unknown educational levels.

Table IV:f

COMPARISON OF KWAWU, ALL AKAN, AND GHANAIAN POPULATION, SCHOOL ATTENDANCE[1]

Percentages

	Kwawu		Akan		Ghana	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Age 4 - 6						
Never	21	46	33	60	47	67
Past	4	6	5	5	4	4
Present	74	48	62	35	50	30
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Ages 15 - 19						
Never	14	53	26	66	42	72
Past	32	28	30	21	22	16
Present	53	19	44	13	36	12
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Ages 20 - 24						
Never	19	72	37	80	55	85
Past	72	27	56	20	40	15
Present	9	1	6	1	6	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Age 25, over						
Never	64	93	71	93	79	94
Past	36	7	29	6	21	6
Present	0	0	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Age 6, over						
Never	39	71	50	79	63	83
Past	28	11	24	9	18	7
Present	33	18	26	12	19	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
1960 Census of Ghana, Special Report E. Table 16, p. 86. No comparable figures are available for the 1970 Census.

Note:
1. Totals may not add up to 100% because of rounding. Zero figures represent percentages less than 0.5%.

Table IV:h

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF NON KWAWU RESIDENTS IN OBO, BY KINSHIP RELATIONS TO OWNER OR TENANT

Numbers

	Usually Resident in Obo			Visiting Obo from[1]			
	Other Akan	Ewe	Northerners	Village	Town	Accra	Total
Not related by kinship	14	14	5	1	1	-	35
Spouse	4	6	7	-	1	1	17
Sibling	26	9	20	2	5	2	64
Brother's child	3	-	1	-	-	-	4
Son's child	4	-	-	5	1	5	15
Sister's daughters child	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Son's child	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other kin	14	16	-	1	-	1	2
Total Surveyed	70	45	32	9	8	8	32

Note:
1. Visitors included 9 other Akans from Villages, 3 from Towns and 7 from Accra, 4 Ewes from Towns and 1 from Accra, and 2 Northerners from Villages and 1 each from Towns and Accra.

Table IV:g

COMPARISON OF KWAWU POPULATION TO GHANA POPULATION, URBAN-RURAL BY AGE

Numbers

Age	Kwawu Urban	Kwawu Rural	Kwawu Total	Kwawu %U[1]	Ghana Urban	Ghana Rural	Ghana Total	Ghana %U[1]	U[2]
0 - 4	6,840	20,280	27,130	(25)	277,050	1,016,790	1,293,840	(21)	K
5 - 9	5,300	16,700	22,000	(24)	209,300	810,340	1,019,640	(21)	K
10 - 14	4,150	11,790	15,940	(26)	158,720	523,940	682,660	(23)	K
15 - 19	3,670	7,670	11,360	(32)	148,290	392,850	541,140	(27)	K
20 - 24	4,040	6,630	10,670	(38)	170,060	416,900	586,960	(29)	K
25 - 34	6,020	11,700	17,720	(34)	274,830	803,400	1,078,230	(26)	K
35 - 44	2,710	8,390	11,100	(24)	150,240	534,570	684,810	(22)	K
45 - 54	1,260	5,730	6,990	(18)	82,100	316,480	390,580	(21)	G
55 - 64	890	4,180	5,070	(18)	42,480	185,980	228,460	(19)	G
65+	400	3,590	3,990	(10)	38,290	174,210	212,500	(18)	G
Total	35,300	96,670	131,970	(27)	1,551,360	5,175,470	6,726,820	(23)	K

Source:
1960 Census, Special Report E.

Notes:
1. Percent of population, in that age range, which is in urban areas.
2. Of the two categories, which is most urban at that age, K = Kwawu population or G = Ghana population.

Table IV:g

COMPARISON OF KWAWU POPULATION TO GHANA POPULATION, URBAN-RURAL BY AGE

Percentages

Ages	Kwawu Urban	Kwawu Rural	Kwawu Total	Kwawu L[1]	Ghana Urban	Ghana Rural	Ghana Total	Ghana L[1]
0 - 4	19	21	21	R	18	20	19	R
5 - 9	15	17	17	R	14	16	15	R
10 - 14	12	12	12	R	10	10	10	U
15 - 19	11	8	9	U	10	8	8	U
20 - 24	11	7	8	U	1	8	9	U
25 - 34	17	12	13	U	18	16	16	U
35 - 44	8	9	8	R	10	10	10	R
45 - 54	4	6	5	R	5	6	6	R
55 - 64	3	4	4	R	3	4	3	R
65+	1	4	3	R	3	3	3	R
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	

Source:
1960 Census of Ghana, Special Report E.

Note:
1. L = Location of individuals at that age, by percentage of the total, is predominantly R = rural or U = urban.

Table V:a

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS[1] PER HOUSE, NUMBERS RESIDENT IN EACH OR VISITORS SLEEPING IN EACH

Number of Households[1]	Number of Houses	Number of Obo Residents	Numbers: Number of Obo Migrants sleeping in each from: Villages	Town	Accra	Total Surveyed
1	121	715	747	230	450	2,164
2	26	258	126	41	146	583
3	9	150	115	25	53	346
4 or more	3	43	29	8	5	85
empty	25	*	179	9	57	260
Total	184	1,179	1,196	313	711	3,444
			Percentages			
1	66	61	62	74	63	63
2	14	22	11	13	21	17
3	5	13	10	8	7	10
4 or more	2	4	2	3	1	2
empty	14	-	15	3	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note:

1. Household arbitrarily defined as a group sleeping in a single set of rooms together. Where not clear then Group eating and cooking as a unit was used.
   Thirteen Obo residents were associated with usually empty houses, either cooking, sleeping, or bathing, but not all three.

Table V:b

RESIDENCE WITH PARENTS, ALL AGES, OBO RESIDENTS AND VISITING MIGRANTS

Number of Individuals Living in same house as:	Obo Residents	Numbers: Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
Mother	272	51	11	15	349
Father	9	8	3	3	23
Both	114	107	34	95	351
Neither	398	94	45	41	580
Subtotal	793	260	93	154	1,303
Unknown[1]	200	254	84	201	750
Married	188	635	187	356	1,390
Total	1,181	1,149	364	711	3,444
		Percentages of Unmarried Totals			
Mother	34	20	12	10	27
Father	1	3	3	2	2
Both	14	41	37	62	27
Neither	50	36	48	27	45
Unmarried	100	100	100	100	100

Source:

Obo Household Composition Survey, One Quarter Sample, 1973.

Notes:

1. Includes adults over 20 years whose marital status is unclear, or in a state of uncertainty or where information is withheld, or unknown to informants.

Table V:c

RESIDENCE WITH PARENTS, UNMARRIED OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS BY AGE (0 - 14)

Numbers

Age: / Living with:	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
0 - 4					
Mother	64	9	1	5	79
Father	-	-	2	1	3
Both	35	34	14	24	109
Neither	35	13	1	3	52
	134	56	18	33	243
5 - 9					
Mother	66	17	5	2	90
Father	1	2	-	-	3
Both	46	30	10	23	103
Neither	95	19	5	4	123
	202	58	20	29	319
10 - 14					
Mother	63	12	3	5	83
Father	1	2	-	1	4
Both	29	24	7	27	87
Neither	154	29	18	9	211
	247	67	28	42	385

/Continued

Table V:c

RESIDENCE WITH PARENTS, UNMARRIED OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS BY AGE (0 - 14)

Percentages

Age: / Living with:	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
0 - 4					
Mother	48	16	6	15	33
Father	-	-	11	3	1
Both	26	61	78	73	45
Neither	26	23	6	9	21
	100	100	100	100	100
5 - 9					
Mother	33	29	25	7	28
Father	1	3	-	-	1
Both	20	52	50	79	32
Neither	47	33	25	14	39
	100	100	100	100	100
10 - 14					
Mother	26	18	11	12	22
Father	-	3	-	2	1
Both	12	36	25	64	23
Neither	62	43	64	21	55
	100	100	100	100	100

Table V:d

RESIDENCE WITH PARENTS, UNMARRIED OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS BY AGE (15 and Over)

Numbers

Age: / Living with:	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total[2] Surveyed
15 - 19					
Mother	53	6	1	2	62
Father	4	-	1	1	6
Both	8	8	2	18	36
Neither	89	20	18	13	141
	154	34	22	34	245
20 - 44					
Mother	19	4	-	1	24
Father	1	4	-	-	5
Both	1	4	-	3	8
Neither	14	8	2	11	35
	35	20	2	15	72
45 and over					
Mother	5	1	-	-	7
Father	2	-	-	-	2
Both	1	-	-	-	1
Neither	11	2	1	1	15
	19	3	1	1	25

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
1. Usual residence with parents at usual place of residence, not during Obo visits. Excludes all migrants whose residence, viz a viz parents was unknown.
2. Totals include migrants whose whereabouts are outside Ghana or unknown.

Table V:d

RESIDENCE WITH PARENTS, UNMARRIED OBO RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS, BY AGE (15 and Over)

Percentages

Age: / Living with:	Resident in Obo	Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total Surveyed
15 - 19					
Mother	33	18	5	6	25
Father	3	-	5	3	3
Both	5	24	9	53	15
Neither	58	59	82	38	58
	100	100	100	100	100
20 - 44					
Mother	54	20	-	7	33
Father	3	20	-	-	7
Both	3	20	-	20	11
Neither	40	40	100	73	49
	100	100	100	100	100
45 and Over					
Mother	26	33	-	-	28
Father	11	-	-	-	8
Both	5	-	-	-	4
Neither	58	67	100	100	60
	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table V:e

RESIDENCE WITH PARENTS, ALL AGES, UNMARRIED OBO RESIDENTS AND VISITING OBO MIGRANTS, BY SEX

Numbers

Living with	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages		Towns		Accra		Total Surveyed	
	Males	Females	Males	Fem.	Males	Fem.	Males	Fem.	Males	Females
Mother	155	117	19	32	6	5	6	9	186	163
Father	5	4	4	4	2	1	2	1	13	10
Both	62	52	50	57	14	20	57	38	183	168
Neither	200	198	52	42	27	18	15	26	295	285
Total	422	371	125	135	49	44	80	74	677	626
Percentages										
Mother	37	32	15	24	12	11	8	12	27	26
Father	2	1	3	3	4	2	3	1	2	2
Both	15	14	40	42	29	45	71	53	27	27
Neither	47	53	42	31	55	41	19	35	44	46
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percent Female										
Mother	43		63		45		60		47	
Father	44		50		33		33		43	
Both	46		53		59		40		48	
Neither	50		45		40		63		49	

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table V:f

OBO RESIDENTS: AGE COMPOSITION IN EACH TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD (USUAL PLACE OF SLEEPING)

Numbers

Ages	Conjugal ties only	Matrilineal ties only	Matrilineal, Spouses, and Affines	Conjugal plus Consang.	Patrilineal, and other Consanguin.	Singles and Unrelated by Kin ties	Totals
0 - 4	24	56	13	19	21	-	136
5 - 9	27	79	27	37	34	3	207
10 - 14	21	98	28	29	69	6	251
15 - 19	4	84	29	16	34	7	174
20 - 24	5	20	8	12	6	1	52
25 - 29	8	12	6	6	6	5	43
30 - 34	9	17	7	4	6	3	46
35 - 39	9	7	3	6	6	6	37
40 - 44	9	16	5	6	3	1	40
45 - 49	1	17	1	7	4	1	31
50 - 54	2	9	3	10	2	2	28
55 - 59	3	10	2	2	3	2	22
60 - 64	0	14	3	1	7	0	25
65+	3	28	8	9	21	6	75
Totals	125	467	143	164	222	46	1,167

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table V:f

OBO RESIDENTS: AGE COMPOSITIONS IN EACH TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD (USUAL PLACE OF SLEEPING)

Row Percentages for Each Age Category

Ages	Conjugal ties only	Matrilineal ties only	Matrilineal, Spouses, and Affines	Conjugal plus Consang.	Patrilineal, and other Consanguin.	Singles and Unrelated by Kin Ties	Totals
0 - 4	18	41	10	14	15	2	100
5 - 9	13	38	13	18	16	1	100
10 - 14	8	39	11	12	28	2	100
15 - 19	2	48	17	9	20	4	100
20 - 24	10	39	15	23	12	2	100
25 - 29	19	28	14	14	14	12	100
30 - 34	20	37	15	9	13	7	100
35 - 39	24	19	8	16	16	16	100
40 - 44	23	40	13	15	8	3	100
45 - 49	3	55	3	23	13	3	100
50 - 54	7	32	11	36	7	7	100
55 - 59	14	46	9	9	14	9	100
60 - 64	-	56	12	4	28	-	100
65+	4	37	11	12	28	8	100
Totals	11	40	12	14	19	4	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table V:f

OBO RESIDENTS: AGE COMPOSITIONS IN EACH TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD (USUAL PLACE OF SLEEPING)

Column Percentages for Each Household Type

Ages	Conjugal ties only	Matrilineal ties only	Matrilineal, Spouses, and Affines	Conjugal plus Consang.	Patrilineal, and other Consanguin.	Singles and Unrelated by Kin Ties	Totals
0 - 4	19	12	9	12	10	76	12
5 - 9	22	17	19	23	15	76	18
10 - 14	17	21	20	18	31	13	22
15 - 19	3	18	20	10	15	5	15
20 - 24	4	4	6	7	3	2	5
25 - 29	6	3	4	4	3	11	4
30 - 34	7	4	5	2	3	7	4
35 - 39	7	2	2	4	3	1	3
40 - 44	7	3	4	4	1	2	3
45 - 49	1	4	1	4	2	2	3
50 - 54	2	2	2	6	1	4	3
55 - 59	2	2	1	1	1	4	2
60 - 64	-	3	2	1	3	-	2
65+	2	6	6	6	10	13	6
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table V:g

TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS IN OBO SURVEYED HOUSES: RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS VISITING EACH

Numbers

Household Resident Group, based on:	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From[1]						Total[2]	
			Villages		Towns		Accra			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Conjugal ties only	67	61	29	31	9	14	26	13	133	119
Matrilineal ties only	208	263	211	262	86	72	161	134	677	743
Matrilineal ties plus affines	48	57	33	35	13	8	29	43	126	137
Conjugal ties plus extended family kin	80	87	63	92	15	14	42	26	202	219
Matrilineal and conjugal ties	20	19	16	30	2	4	6	10	44	63
Patrilineal ties only	3	8	4	2	2	4	-	4	10	18
Other consanguineal	103	110	62	60	38	56	78	73	290	309
Single	19	2	14	13	6	3	6	8	104	26
Not related by kin	4	2	77	104	6	6	30	32	119	164
Totals	553	628	509	639	184	180	378	333	1,646	1,798

Source:
Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
1. These numbers refer to the number of Obo migrants visiting each type of residence group in Obo. It does not refer to migrants' residence groups in their usual place of residence.
2. Includes 28 migrants overseas and 11 whose whereabouts were unknown to household informants.

Table V:g

TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS IN OBO SURVEYED HOUSES: RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS VISITING EACH

Percentages

Household Resident Group Based on:	Obo Residents		Obo Migrants Visiting Obo From[1]						Totals[2]	
			Villages		Towns		Accra			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Conjugal ties only	12	10	6	5	5	8	7	4	8	7
Matrilineal ties only	38	42	41	41	47	40	43	40	41	41
Matrilineal ties plus affines	9	9	7	6	7	4	8	10	8	10
Conjugal ties plus extended kinfolk	15	14	12	14	8	8	11	8	12	2
Matrilineal and conjugal ties	4	3	3	5	1	2	2	3	3	4
Patrilineal ties only	1	1	1	-	1	2	-	1	1	1
Other consanguineal ties	19	18	12	11	25	31	21	22	18	18
Single persons	3	-	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	1
Not related by kinship	-	3	15	16	3	3	8	9	7	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
1. These percentages refer to Obo migrants visiting each type of residence group in Obo. It does not refer to the migrants' residence groups in their usual place of residence.
2. Includes 28 migrants overseas and 11 migrants whose whereabouts were unknown to household informants.

Table VI:a

COMPARISON OF AKAN AND GHANAIAN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

Percentages

	Akan			Ghana		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Roman Catholic	22	18	20	15	12	13
Methodist	20	20	20	10	11	10
Presbyterian	11	10	11	10	10	10
Anglican	4	3	3	3	2	3
Apostolic and S.D.A.	5	7	6	4	5	4
African Christian	2	3	3	1	2	2
Other Christian	2	2	2	1	1	1
	(65)	(63)	(63)	(44)	(42)	(43)
Moslem	5	4	4	14	10	12
Traditional	23	28	25	35	42	38
None	8	8	8	7	7	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source:
Table 4.11.2 Major Tribes by Religion and Sex, Adults only, Percentages, Demographic Economic and Social Characteristics, Based on the P.E.S. Sample, Ghana, Government 1964, Special Report E., Tribes in Ghana, 1960 Census.

Table VI:b

COMPARISON OF OBO RESIDENTS' AND VISITING MIGRANTS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Numbers

	Obo Residents	Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra		Total[3]
Roman Catholic	71	49	21	40	(2)	183
Methodist	66	66	31	32	(5)	200
Presbyterian	260	123	84	203	(2)	672
Anglican	180	64	45	136	(8)	433
Apostolic + S.D.A.	79	125	34	54	(5)	297
African Christian	62	171	25	19	(3)	280
Other Christian	14	4	4	6	-	28
Moslem	5	1	-	2	-	8
Traditional	64	81	9	18	-	172
No Affiliation[1]	221	321	61	113	(4)	720
Undetermined	153	143	50	86	(10)	442
	1,181	1,148	364	711		3,444

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Notes:
1. Not comparable to census statistics (none), because it includes those who believe in supernatural but have no affiliation. No atheists were recorded on this survey.
2. Persons not available at time of survey, or children, whose religious affiliation not determinable.
3. Includes 39 persons overseas, or whose whereabouts were unknown.

Table VI:b

COMPARISON OF OBO RESIDENTS' AND VISITING MIGRANTS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Percentages

	Obo Residents	Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra	Total
Roman Catholic	6	4	6	6	5
Methodist	6	6	9	5	6
Presbyterian	22	11	23	29	20
Anglican	15	6	12	19	13
Apostolic and S.D.A.	7	11	9	8	9
African Christian	5	15	7	3	8
Other Christian	1	0	1	1	1
(Christian)	(62)	(53)	(67)	(71)	(61)
Moslem	0	0	0	0	0
Traditional	5	7	2	3	5
No Affiliation	19	28	17	16	21
Undetermined	13	12	14	12	13
	100	100	100	100	100

Table VI:c

SMALLER CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS RECORDED ON THE OBO SURVEY

Numbers

	Obo Residents	Migrants Visiting Obo From: Villages	Towns	Accra		Surveyed Total
Pentacost	59	86	30	44	(5)	224
Memenada Gyidifo	42	96	7	8	(3)	153
Odifo Nkansa	3	52	8	5	-	68
Christ Apostolic	10	16	2	9	(1)	38
Jehova's Witness	14	4	4	6	-	28
Musama Disco Christo	13	2	3	-	-	18
Ghana Apostolic	2	9	2	3	-	16
Aladura	-	7	3	2	-	12
S.D.A.	8	3	-	-	-	11
T.W.C.	-	4	-	1	-	5
Salvation Army	-	1	1	-	-	2
Eden Revival	1	-	-	-	-	1
Unspecified	9	19	3	2	-	33
	161	299	63	80		609

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Table VI:d

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF OBO STUDENTS

Numbers

Religious Affiliation	Anglican Boys/Girls	Presby. A. Gov't Sch.	Presby. B	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Total
Anglican	91	7	6	2	-	106
Presbyterian	11	73	45	6	1	136
Roman Catholic	3	1	-	36	-	40
Methodist	3	5	1	1	13	23
Memenada Gyidifo	-	5	5	5	-	15
Pentacost	7	5	1	1	-	14
Jehovah's Witness	7	-	1	-	-	8
Musama Disco	1	1	1	1	-	4
S.D.A.	-	-	-	2	-	2
Christ Apostolic	1	1	-	-	-	2
Odifo Nkansa	2	-	-	-	-	2
Unsp. Christian	-	1	3	-	-	4
None	11	7	1	3	-	22
Abosom	1	-	1	1	-	3
Unknown *	5	5	4	4	2	20
Total	143	111	69	62	16	401

Source:
One Quarter Sample, 1973, Obo Household Composition Survey.

Appendix A

Ramseyer's Complaint about Obo Harassment

His Excellency
Sir William Brandford Griffith
Governor and Commander in Chief of the Gold Coast Colony
Christiansborg Castle

Excellency:

Knowing how your Excellency takes a kind interest in our work and in the welfare of this new province of the Protectorate, I beg for indulgence if I take the liberty to apply to your Excellency, begging for a kind help in the form of a few words of warning in a certain difficulty between us and the chief of Obo.

A certain man called "Wiafe" of Obo desiring to join the congregation at Mpraeso and having some weeks taken part in the instruction of baptism, was lately put in log by his uncle. By the interference of our agent he was soon released, but a few days ago, the chief of Obo, "Asiama," with his elders and the uncle took council + there they decided that the man had to return to Obo and to renounce Christianism, if not, his 3 children will be taken away from him + sold to pay family debts.

That all this was done out of hatred against the word of God is clear, and that there are no real debts to be paid is to be seen in that third if the chief promised the man to honour him if he returns. When I heard of it I sent to Asiamah's + I begged him as his best friend to take care and not force me to report him to the Governor, who had just written him such a kind letter (illegible), and to trouble poor Awiafe any more. At the same line I repeated to him that under English laws everyone is free to serve God or the fetish but that the Christians are just as before his subjects; but all was without result as he would not comply to my request. I wonder about it for the man is so timorous that a letter of the Government makes him quite afraid. Perhaps does he hope that I will not report him. As the matter is some importance we must do our utmost to check such doing at once, I take the liberty to apply to Your excellency begging that a serious admonition may be sent to Chief "Asiama" of Obo, explaining to him that not only the selling of children is contrary to the english laws but that it is even not allowed to take away children from their father or parents.

With my hearty thanks for this renewed kindness, and our most respectful salutations

I remain Your Excellency's dutiful servant

F. Ramseyer (signed) Basle Missionary
Abetifi (Okwao)
the 27th July 1888.

ref.: A.D.M. 11/1445
Ghana National Archives
Accra.

Appendix B

Extract of Report of Mission to Kwawu, December 1893 (Sherriff J.R. Phillips)

(7) The country is fair to look upon but her economy is rotten. She stands outside the pale of the jurisdiction of the Gold Coast Colony, and being in the anomalous position of a "protected" country she is still far removed from the influences of Civilization. She is given up to one of the greatest curses of Africa, the native court. After my visit to Eastern Akin in 1892 I pointed out in a report which I had the honor to submit at that time that the visits of a Commissioner even at rare intervals would do more service than all the native courts in the country. That opinion I desire to enlarge upon. Okwau is groaning under the corruption, the tyrrany and the injustice of her native courts. I speak from knowledge and I venture to state that there is not one case in 50 settled in a native court which is judged upon principles of truth and justice. The basis of native law is opposed to equity and the persons who administer it are corrupt and avaricious. The doctrine of vicarious responsibility is carried to an appalling extent. Whole families are oppressed with the burden of ever increasing debts, which they have never incurred, and the consequences of crimes are invited upon the heads of persons who have never committed them, while the indebted and the guilty are allowed to depart in peace. The necessary adjuncts to such a state of affairs are slavery, panyarring, and pawning. There are today hundreds of women and children in pawn in the British protectorate of Okwau, who are ignorant of the origin or nature of the debts or crimes for which their liberty is sacrificed. But the Queen's writ does not run in Okwau. The country lies on the very doorstep of an English Colony and is proud to boast the name of a protected country but we withhold the arm of the law which can alone give that protection for which she is crying. I venture to say that the position of Okwau is opposed to commonsense and the principles of progressive civilization, and detrimental to the interests of the Gold Coast Colony. As an instance of this necessity for legal powers in this country, I would mention that some days ago I was trying to deal with a case on account of which two children are in slavery, one man has been for many months in log, and several persons have been reduced to poverty while the (so-called) debt which has caused all this misery, was originally incurred by a theft of 16, has since reached the sum of 70 and is now being paid off by the aunt and nephews of the thief who has long ago left the country (?...less) and unsought for. Such cases are not uncommon. Doubtless these methods of enforcing rights and redressing wrongs are necessary in savage and primitive states, but should they be so in a British Protectorate?

(Phillips 1893:(7), A.D.M. 1/11/1445)

(20) In re certain slaves from Akwamu detained at Obo
(M.P. 4493/1892)

In order to bring this matter to a settlement I sent for King Akoto's representatives on the 12th Nov. He did not arrive until the 7th December. This palaver has caused me some embarrassment and anxiety.

To release slaves at Obo is like stirring up an ant's nest without the means to protect oneself from the swarms of ants. Obo is full of slaves. The laws of the colony do not affect Obo and it follows that the slave trade is not illegal there, or, at any rate those practising it cannot be punished. My position was not a pleasant one under the circumstances, especially considering the fact that the people firmly believe that they are under the jurisdiction and many of them, who are slaves, clamoured for their release. Not that I think they should be released, for they are in quite as good a position as their free neighbours, in my opinion, and in many cases better off - but the fact remains that my status as a Representative of a virtuously anti-slavery, aborigines protecting, Government was a paradoxical one. Many of the Obo slaves were born so, others have been purchased during recent years. The latter class were bought probably at Salagah from "Gazare" the Mahomedan slave traders from the interior, a representative of the dynasty being still, I believe, at work.

On the 8th December, I commenced to hear the case between the Akwamus and the Obos. I had previously been to Obo and had endeavoured to ascertain the truth of the matter but my efforts had not been successful. The people had evidently determined to conceal the truth from me, and systematically put every obstacle in the way of finding it out for myself. The lies, which I had to listen to in this matter, were almost incredible in number and magnitude. I was presented gratis with six different versions of the story, put forward in each case to suit the interests of the narrators. Even among the other not too veracious tribes a boast the Okwaus are proverbially liars - they deserve the name.

When the Akwamus arrived, I was able, by comparing their statements with those of the Okwawus, and after consulting with the old men of Abetifi to come to a conclusion as to the true version of the story.

The statement of the King of Akwamu contained in his letter to you of the 28th November, 1892 stating that when slaves went to Obo from

Akwamu for trading purposes only and were there detained, is false. It is also false that they are in any way being ill treated by the Okwaus. But it is true that several have been sold into Akim and Ashantee some years ago by a man named Adjaben who claims a property in these slaves.

I believe the following to be their true history:
About fifty years ago (+ possibly more) an Akwamu trader visited Okwau - he was, I think, an Okwau by birth. He took with him a certain young man who had been "pawned" to him by a trader from Osino. This young man, while in Okwau, seduced one of the wives of the chief of Obo. The chief of Obo claimed the usual "satisfaction" from the Master. It is not quite clear whether the seducer himself was killed at Obo or whether he escaped. The master, or owner of the Pawn, who had perpetuated this breach of etiquette in Obo, contended that it was not he who should be made responsible for the seduction and consequent payment, but the Osino man who had originally placed the offender in pawn. The Akwamu trader was accordingly allowed to go away and find this man. During his absence on this quest, the Akwamu came to the conclusion that discretion was a virtue and accordingly did not return to Okwau. The Obo people then went to Akwamu and seized a woman named "Adobia," took her to Obo, and placed her in prison until the "satisfaction" should be paid. It was never paid. Adobia, who was probably selected by the Okwau on account of her fecudity, realized expectation, became fruitful and multiplied exceedingly. The Akwamu now in Obo are the children and grandchildren of Adobia, and have become, through a variety of circumstances the property of a wealthy citizen of Obo named Adjaben.

The family of Adjaben have made their position by slave-dealing and money-lending. Adjaben declares that Adobia was "dashed" to his uncle by the chief of Obo. I do not believe this, though I have treated it as a fact in my judgement as will be seen in the latter part of the report. I think that the family of Adobia have gradually come into the possession of Adjaben's family as "pawns" on account of moneys lent by them to the chiefs. Adjaben has made great profit out of this family and has sold several of them in Obo, Akim, and Ashanti. It is only recently that the Akwamus has find to procure their freedom and wished to leave Obo for Akwamu. I do not believe that it is in account of any fear of being sold or because they have been ill-treated but because they have heard of slaves being released, from time to time, and because they had delusions that in some way they will better themselves by going to Akwamu, while there is no doubt that King Akoto has encouraged them and is very anxious to get them to Akwamu for his own reasons which are not unconnected with pecuniary gain.

(Phillips 1893:(2), A.D.M. 1/11/1445)

Appendix C

The Election of an Obo Chief by Secret Ballot, 1893

"I have already stated that the rebel chief of Obo has recently died. It was reported to me soon after my arrival that Obo was in a state of tumult about the election of a new chief. I was glad to seize the fortunate opportunity to settle the affairs of this place in a peacable manner. I therefore summoned the inhabitants of Obo to a mass meeting for the purpose of electing a chief. At 8 a.m. on the 15th November, the proceeding commenced. I made them understand the procedures I intended to adopt, which was the nomination of two eligible candidates and the election of one of them by ballot at the hands of the twenty-one captains of the town. I explained to them the secrecy of the ballot, and I do not think that any assembly of free and independent English electors ever grasped the principles of the ballot better than the people of Obo. They appeared greatly interested and the sight was an impression; one which I shall not readily forget.

"The people sat in an enormous semi-circle about thirty deep round the King's umbrella. I sat opposite the King about thirty yards off. On my right were assembled the Captains of Obo, with a guard of Haussas round them to prevent the plebs from mixing with them. As each man's turn came, he recorded his vote at my table, and then passed over to the other side.

"The candidates nominated were 'Entchi' and 'Sasu' and the ballot resulted in the election of Entchi by a majority of seventeen. I declared Entchi elected, caused the King to confirm the election and then formally presented the chief to the people. Entchi then took the oaths of fealty, according to custom.

"The result of the election was received with enthusiasm. The Chiefs of Obomeng, Asakraka and Bepong, took oaths of allegiance to the new chief. Nothing more could be desired - Entchi is of the King's family and will not oppose him; he has been placed on the stool by the Government for which he is grateful, and he is also the popular candidate. I should add that the opposition was led by Abansua of Obomeng - that gentleman having, I believe, received money from Sasu to secure his election."

(Phillips 1893:489-90, G.N.A., A.D.M. 11/1445)

Appendix D

Perregaux's Letters about Kwawu Smugglers during the Yaa Asantewa War

W.M. Lew,
Colonial Secretary,
Accra.

Dear Sir,

A copy of your letter to the Agent of the Basel Mission Factory (19th June - 3738/1900) was sent to me and I read with great astonishment that rumours had been spread about that an Ashanti army had invaded Kwawu and that the missionaries have been killed! I cannot understand how such news can be spread about and believed! The Ashantis could not come too suddenly upon us without our being warned before and the Kwawu King is still loyal to the Government. He as well as we missionaries were very much annoyed that these rumours were put into circulation, because many Kwawu people who had gone to the coast to buy salt or other articles were seized by Akwapem and Akyem people and severely flogged or ill used, and their goods were taken from them. This could bring serious troubles to us as it is likely to enrage the Kwawu people.

I therefore immediately took steps to stop this state of things and sent 3 of our teachers to the Kings of Akuapem and Akyem to ask them to put an end to these troubles as these rumours are quite false.

This afternoon too I called here the king and his chiefs and they all came with the exception of the chief of Obo. The King told me how astonished and grieved he is that such charges were made against him, he cannot understand how it came about as he is doing his best to prevent people going to sell powder to the Ashantees. I can bear him testimony that he is still loyal to the English Government and would not do anything against him. He challenged all his chiefs before me to say openly whom they will serve and they all said: the English Government.

Only they want to be trusted by the Government - if they are not they have the feeling to be between 2 fires as they intercepted Ashanti spies. They would like to get ammunition and to be sent against the Ashantis.

Therefore I take the liberty to send to you one of our teachers who knows everything about matters here and who can give you all necessary information, it is Mr. Benjamin Martinson. If I always insist upon troops being sent via Kwawu it is not for our own protection, but I know that it would be the surest way and the easiest as well to get to Kumasi. It is just what the Ashantis fear more than anything. Then Kwawu, Asante-Akyem, Dwabeng and Mampong would follow and the Ashantis could not resist.

If you would at least send a strong letter to the King of Kwawu, telling him you did not believe these bad rumours and trust his loyalty, it would do good, he is now in a very hard situation. But I beg you don't throw Kwawu away - if the Kwawu people are only sure that the English Government is with them and not against them they will keep quiet and remain loyal.

Excuse my liberty in writing all this and believe me to be always!

Your obedient Servant.

(Signed) Rev. Ed. Perregaux.

Abetifi

2 July 1900

Source:

Ghana National Archives
(A.D.M. 1/11/1445)
Accra.

His Excellency,
Sir F. Mitchell Hodgson,
Governor in Chief of the Gold Coast Colony,
Accra.

Your Excellency!

The King of Kwahu and his people have been to this day loyal to the Government and although there have been for some time rumours* of a revolt afloat, they have always been quiet.

Nevertheless they have been repeatedly accused to be one with the Ashantees and to help them; some weeks ago many Kwahu people were arrested in Akwapem and Akem, their loads were taken from them and they were flogged! I then wrote letters to the King of Akem, to the King of Akwapem and to the Colonial Secretary and sent them through special messengers, in order to testify of the loyalty of the King of Kwahu and of his people, and to ask that his people may be allowed to pass unmolested.

These letters had a good effect and the Kwahus got away to the coast again. But lately the Queen of Koforidua, Oseewa, sent word that the Kwahus were not to be trusted and gave orders to arrest all the Kwahus going to the coast.** Consequently plenty of Kwahu people were arrested in the Akem and Dwabeng towns. Some were robbed, some were flogged and all of them sent back to Kwahu! Your Excellency will easily see that this puts us in an awkward situation and if it is going on thus it will be very hard to keep the Kwahus in order. Therefore it would be good if orders were sent from the government to the chiefs of Koforidua and Akem towns to let all the Kwahus pass unmolested. If necessary their loads can be inspected but then they ought to be allowed to pass without troubles.

I have the honour to be Your Excellency's most Obedient Servant.

(Signed) Rev. Ed. Perregaux.
Abetifi
October 1900

* There are many at Pepease and Aduamoa.

**It may be that the reason for saying that is that many Agogo people who fled to Kwahu were allowed to stay here.

Appendix E

Letter to Francis Crowther Concerning Obo Revolt

Confidential
Abene
19 March, 1907

Sir,

I have the honor to report to you for the information of His Excellency the Governor, of the state of affairs in Kwahu, - that Chief Kwame Chey of Obo and his people are in revolt against me.

On the 14th instant I went up to Abetifi for the purpose of deciding some case.

On my arrival there, two linguists by name Kwame Asante and Kwame Ahotor, accompanied by an elder, Omarie, came to me from Obo and informed me before Chiefs of Abetifi and Pepease that they were sent by Chief Kwame Chey to tell me that he and all the people of the towns and villages under him will no longer recognise me as Kwahu Omanhene nor serve me as their king.

As soon as they publically delivered this message they returned to Obo.

On the following morning the 15th instant, I sent one of my elders by name Yaw Adare, one sword bearer and some attendants to Obo in order to ask Chief Chey and his people the causes of their declaring themselves independent.

My messengers returned to me the next morning informing me that chief of Obo and his people refused to give any explanation at all through them to me and told them that they do not know any Omanhene living at Abene. Since then he is dealing with every case in his court as an independent chief.

As I am afraid most of the chiefs of Kwahu and their people will soon join or help the rebels and perhaps cause disturbances in the country, I beg His Excellency's interference by way of sending up an officer to Kwahu in order to look into the matter and to bring about peace between my people and myself.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your obedient Servant,

Kwasi Akuamoa IV.

Omanhene of Kwahu

His
X
Mark

Ref.: A.D.M. 11/1145
Case 336/07 S.N.A.
Ghana National Archives
Accra

Minute from Acting Secretary for Native Affairs Concerning the Obo Revolt of 1907

Your Excellency

I fear this letter indicates a serious breach.

The Obohene is Nifahene of Okwawu, and not only is Obo the largest town in the interior of this province, but the population of the other towns of the division subject to, when taken into conjunction with Obo, enumerate almost 20,000. No disturbance seems to threaten - the matter can have no connection with the riots at Abetifi last year - not unless a reconciliation is effected; it is difficult to say what may be the end of the matter.

2. Dr. Horn is now at Abetifi - a few miles from Obo and it is possible that a report may have been made to him.

3. I think it is desirable to dispatch an officer as soon as possible to deal with the dispute. I am informed that the C.E.? will be here in three days time to attend the Assizes, and I venture to suggest that the matter might be held over until his arrival in order that the question of what officer might be conveniently spared may be discussed with him.

Francis Crowther
4 April, 1907

A.D.M. 11/1145
S.N.A. 336/07
Okwawu - Native Affairs

Appendix F

The Kwawu Chiefs Invent a "Traditional" Coronation to Impress a Young Colonial Officer

"The customary enstoolment of Akuamoa Boateng as Omanhene of Kwahu took place on July 1st.; no official notification being given. The Kwahu Chiefs were remonstrated with for not informing me of the proposed enstoolment and as the result of this an official enstoolment was arranged, the Kwahu Chiefs using the Medical Officer as a medium. In the course of the arrangements with the Medical Officer the Chiefs said that white men in the past had not witnessed this ceremony, but that they as chiefs of Kwahu felt that with the advance of civilization a break should now be made from the ancient custom. And so it came about that the Omanhene was officially enstooled at Abetifi on the 12th August 1926 - four Europeans being witnesses of the installation.

"On August 12th I proceeded to Abetifi accompanied by the Medical Officer, Capt. Green, Provincial Forest Officer, and Mr. McAinsah also of the Forestry Department. On arrival we paid an official call on the Omanhene at which function the executioner (Obrafo) was a prominent figure. Having completed the round of hand shakes he retired and the chiefs then returned our visit. This concluded the preliminaries and the official installation was arranged for 2 p.m.

"At 2 p.m. our small party arrived on the market square and after shaking hands all round took our seats. The Omanhene elect and all his chiefs were present, with the exception of the Ohene of Nkwatia and the Odikro of Bepong both of whom were indisposed and sent representatives. The chiefs were seated as follows: The Omanhene in the middle of the semi circle wearing a dyed cloth called 'Adinkra' which signified his mourning for the late Omanhene: the Adontenhene sat on his immediate right hand and the Kyidomhene on his left. The Nifahene was some distance away on the right and the Benkumhene similarly on the left.

"The ceremony itself was then opened by the executioner (Obrafo), who repeated several times words of praise and pointing a short state sword at the Omanhene, this was done three times followed by beating of drums. The executioner then danced and informed the assembly that but for the presence of Europeans he would have shed blood, then a dwarf with very thick legs and a generally distorted appearance danced and

was loudly applauded. This symbolism completed, the Afra soafo (sword bearers) then left the ceremony ground in order to fetch the Golden Crown. They returned bearing the Crown and other insignia on platters, covered over with cloths. The Golden Crown, which weighed about twenty to thirty ounces was held by the Nifahene and his sub chiefs on the right and the Benkumhene and his sub chiefs on the left. The Adontenhene and Kyidomhene holding the Omanhene's waist from behind. The crowning then was completed, my own view of it was rather obscured; but it consisted of placing on of the Crown and insignia. Then the Omanhene held by all the wing chiefs was led slowly to the playing of music and brought to where I was and his right hand placed in mine. I then led him back and placed him on his stool. The actual installation was now finished and speeches of good will and congratulation took up a considerable time. No sooner were these finished than there was a tremendous blare of trumpets and the Christian Community marched up singing a hymn. They were there at the express invitation of the Omanhene and it was a good augury that the new head chief of the Kwawu nation desired unity among his people. The Nifahene then requested the local pastor to pray for the success of the Omanhene's reign and this was done at length and with much fervour. The proceedings then terminated and the Europeans left the market ground to return to Mpraeso."

(A.H. Williams, Asst. D.C.,
Mpraeso, 20 August, 1926)

Source:

Ghana National Archives
(A.D.M. 1/11/1145)
Accra

Note:

Imitating a European coronation was one means of mollifying a young administrator by these shrewd elders who invented "rituals" for the occasion. Crowning didn't and still doesn't play any part in the enstoolment of Akan chiefs. (P.B., April 1977)

Appendix G

An English Actress Described Four Kwawu Towns as She Saw Them in 1908

(Twenedurase)

The main street was 200 feet wide, nearly three quarters of a mile long and perfectly straight, with young trees planted at regular intervals down the centre and carefully railed in to prevent sheep from gnawing at the trunks. The houses and compounds were arranged symmetrically down the sides of this fine, broad thoroughfare and were surrounded by neat fences enclosing several paw-paw and banana trees. The majority of the roofs were made of wooden tiles instead of the usual untidy palm leaf thatch. Broad airy spaces had been left between the houses, and the shallow ditches had been ingeniously adapted to the gentle slope on which the town lay to carry off the rain water. It was far and away the best laid out and most sanitary place I had seen, excepting the more modern parts of such towns as Accra and Cape Coast, though it could have given either of them points in spacing and ventilation. It was quite new, the inhabitants having moved there from their old town, a ram-shackle tumble-down rabbit-warren of a place which we passed soon afterwards, as the latter was too close to Obo, with the people of which the Tsuinderase did not agree. (Moore and Guggisberg 1909:281-2)

(Aduamoa)

We entered Aduamoa, a town of about 2000 inhabitants, amid the beating of drums, and held a short palaver with the chief, a very young man with a dissatisfied look, but, I believe, a good ruler. At the beginning and end of the town I noticed a fetish erection of a kind very common in Kwahu. A large spherical mound of clay had been made on a clay plat-form, both carefully whitewashed, and the surrounding ground kept clean. On the top of the mound was a bowl of plantains or some other form of gift to the local fetish, the whole being covered with an open-sided palm-roofed shed, something like a summer house.

Aduamoa was surrounded by a circle of hills from one to three miles distant, broken only by one opening through which the little Subire river, draining the north-western slopes of the highlands flowed to join the Afram. (op. cit.:284)

(Abetifi)

Abetifi was another rabbit-warren of a place, though not quite so bad as Obo, for it possessed a good, broad main street containing some particularly fine gnarled and twisted shade trees. It lay on the gentle eastern slopes of Boente Bepoe, 2100 feet above the sea, and contained about 6000 people. Half a mile away, across a shallow valley, rose another hill on which the Basel Mission and a "Christian Town" of 400 inhabitants were built. (op. cit.:287)

(Obo)

A mile further along we entered the antithesis of Tsuinederase - Obo, the Queen of rabbit-warrens. Imagine an area of less than a quarter of a square mile crammed with over 1200 rotten thatched, irregular-shaped mud-huts and compounds, built here, there and everywhere, with no attempt at order, and you have Obo - a town of over 9000 inhabitants.

Outside the town we were met by the chief's men, accompanied by the Chief's empty hammock, sword bearers, drums and umbrella. The principal linguist explained that the chief, Kwamin Atwi, although very anxious to meet us himself, was too ill to leave his house. He had therefore sent his people to come to us and tell us that a place was being prepared for our tiffin in one of the courts of the palace.

As we entered the town, the sword bearers walking on each side of our hammocks with barbaric looking wrought iron swords, with heavy gold handles, on their arms, we were almost deafened by a tremendous shouting, firing of guns, and blowing of horns, for a "funeral custom" was being held.

The whole town was in an uproar and the streets were thronged by dense crowds of natives, dancing, shouting, throwing their arms about, and generally working themselves into a frenzy of excitement. Gin and palm-wine were assisting in the attainment of this happy state, though their help was by no means essential for the native is quite capable of obtaining the same result by merely dancing and singing himself into it.

We threaded the narrow winding streets through this mad throng and arrived at the wide wooden doors of the palace, which opened to receive us and closed immediately we had passed through, shutting out some of the din of the funeral custom.

It was good to sit down to tiffin - breakfast at six and lunch at 1.30 with a stiff climb in between creates a useful appetite.

Kwamin Atwi's palace was the first completed specimen of its kind that I'd seen. It was far more complicated design than the one we had occupied at Bompata, courtyard leading out of courtyard in the most bewildering way, with a perfect maze of side passages and compounds occupied by the chief's wives and their families and domestic slaves.

The buildings of the palace were of the usual type but of rather a more ornate design. Except for a short length of wall at each end, the side next to each courtyard of each house was left open, the raised floor leading out of it being carried forward a few feet and the wooden, tiled roof prolonged to form a shady veranda.

The floor was the usual polished red clay, with which the lower portions of the walls and the solid square pillars supporting the roof were also coated, the upper portions turning to a deep, grey color. This gave the walls and pillars a pleasing appearance as if decorated with a broad, red dado. They were further ornamented with artistic designs, evidently executed freehand, some merely cut into the surface, but others moulded in deep relief. The whole producing a most attractive effect.

In addition to these decorations the tops of the pillars were joined by a thick bold fretwork of clay, and the windows filled with clay lattice work were cut in the end walls and in the short pieces of front wall. These fretwork designs were in some cases polished red, but in others were left in the rough grey of the upper walls.

The whole system of ornamentation was very effective and was strongly suggestive of arabic work, the designs consisting mainly of squares, circles, triangles, spirals, and lozenges, though here and there we came across crude representations of men, animals, fish and trees. (op. cit.: 283-4)

Source:

(Guggisberg and Moore 1908)
We Two in Africa

Appendix H

1912 Enstoolment Rites of Obohene, Kwame Sasu

(Inquiry, held at Obo, 26th day of February, 1912, into the installation of Kwamin Sasu as Nifahene of Kwahu.)

Statement of linguist of Obo stool:

After resignation of Kwamin Ekye the Elders of the stool of Obo (Nifa Stool) choose Kwamin Sasu as their chief. They then informed the Ohene of Obomen and the other subordinate chiefs of the Nifa, and the youngmen. All of these agreed to the elders' choice and he was unanimously elected.

2. Then Kwamin Sasu was publically seated on the white stool. This was done in the day time and all the people were permitted to witness it.

3. In the evening between six and seven o'clock he was seated on the black stool in the house where the stools are kept. Only the Elders, Linguists, Subordinate Chiefs and stool bearers were permitted to witness this. The Ohene of Obomen held his right hand, Odikro of Bepon held his left, one of the Elders held his body, while the remainder stood around when he was seated on the stool.

4. Next day the Senior Elder, in public, brought the golden sword (an iron sword with a gilt handle) and he and all the other Elders and Subordinate Chiefs each swore in turn by the oaths of

Asasiaban	(Omanhene of Kwahu's oath)
Wukuda	(Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa's oath)
Fofi Akroma	(Obo oath)
Pra	(Kwahu general oath)

that they would serve him faithfully and assist him to rule well and see that he did nothing contrary to their native laws, or against the orders and laws of the Government.

5. Then Kwamin Sasu swore by the same oaths that he would be faithful to his people and rule them justly, and respect the advice of his Elders and Subordinate Chiefs; also that he would not transgress their native laws, and would be loyal to and obey the orders of the Government.

6. Then Kwamin Sasu gave £24 to them to be divided as follows: £8 to the Omanhene and Adontenhene, £8 to the Benkumhene (and) £8 to be divided amongst the Elders, Chiefs, and youngmen under him.

7. Then he gave his Elders, Chiefs and youngmen three demijohns of rum, three pots of palm wine, one keg of gunpowder, and three sheep. The sheep were slaughtered on the black stool by the Apesmaka (one of the elders named Kwaku Meri) whose duty it is to kill all sheep so given on the Obo black stool. The blood of the sheep was poured over the black stool and the meat divided amongst us.

8. Then we took Kwamin Sasu and the black stool to Abene and presented him to the Benkumhene, Adontenhene, and Omanhene and he swore by the aforementioned oaths to faithfully serve and obey Omanhene as his forefathers did, and also to faithfully serve and obey the orders of the Government, and also that he would respect and be a faithful friend of the Adontenhene and Benkumhene.

9. Then Omanhene, Adontenhene, and Benkumhene, each swore by the aforementioned oaths. The Omanhene that he would protect him and direct him for the good of Obo and Kwahu, and only order him to do what was good, and tell him all he knows concerning the Obo stool. The Adontenhene and Benkumhene each swore in turn by the same oaths that they would be faithfully friends to him and tell him all they knew about the Obo stool and his duties.

   The sheep were there and then slaughtered on the black stool and the meat divided amongst us, and the Omanhene gave us one demijohn rum and one pot of palm wine. First the Benkumhene swore, then the Adontenhene and finally the Omanhene as stated above.

10. Then we brought Kwamin Sasu back to Obo, and he gave us three more demijohns of rum and three pots of palm wine.

11. Questions by the court:

    Q. Why did you swear by the oath of Wukuda which is the Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa?

    A. Because some years ago the late Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa, Amoaka Atta II, invited the Obo stool family to send one of their heirs to their court as an Elder, and Kwamin Sasu was sent and was an Elder at Kibbi for several years and was brought direct from Kibbi to be chief of Obo (and Nifahene).

Q. To the Elders: Did all of you agree to Kwamin Sasu's election?

A. Yes.

Q. Did all the subordinate chiefs of the Nifa agree?

A. Yes.

Q. Did all the young men agree?

A. Yes.

12. The Benkumhene, the Adontenhene, and Omanhene this Court of their consent, and that they had accepted Kwamin Sasu as their Nifahene.

13. Sasu then swore before the court that he would be loyal to and faithfully serve the Government and obey any orders which the Government's Commissioners or others in authority should give.

14. The Court finds that Kwamin Sasu has been unanimously elected strictly in accordance with the Kwahu customary laws, and recommends that his installation as Nifahene of Kwahu be confirmed.

HJ(?) Cables (HJ. Hobbs)
D.C. Birrim District
Interpretor A.E. Obuako
25 February, 1912

Source: A.D.M. 11/573, Original Correspondence, Secretary for Native Affairs, Ghana National Archives, Accra.

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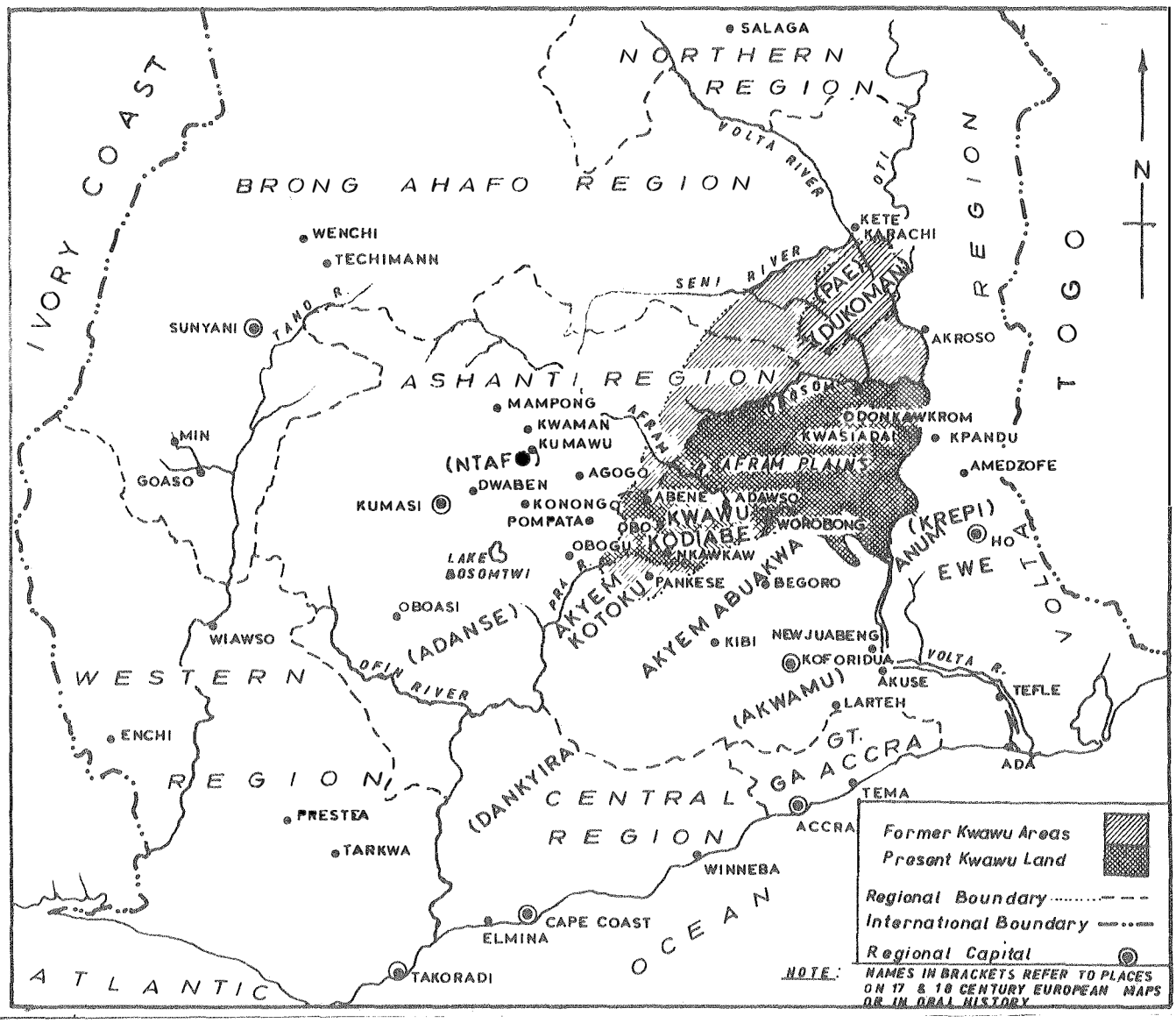
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